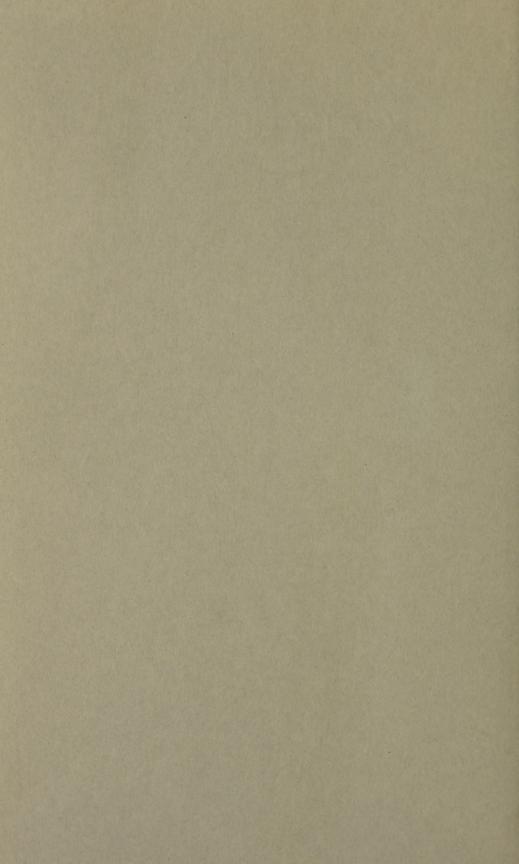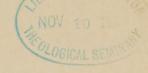# THE VERB IN HARARI
(SOUTH ETHIOPIC)

BY

WOLF LESLAU

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THE VERB IN HARARI
(SOUTH ETHIOPIC)

BY

WOLF LESLAU

To
MARCEL COHEN
My Teacher and Friend

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Books and Periodicals

Cerulli	=	E. Cerulli, *Studi etiopici. I. La lingua e la storia di Harar*. Rome, 1936.
Cohen	=	Marcel Cohen, *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*. Paris, 1931.
Harar	=	see Cerulli.
Gafat	=	W. Leslau, *Etude descriptive et comparative du gafat*. Paris, 1956.
JAOS	=	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Leslau	=	W. Leslau, "Contributions à l'étude du harari", *Journal Asiatique*, 229 (1937), 431-479, 529-606.
Praetorius	=	F. Praetorius, *Die amharische Sprache*. Halle, 1879.
RSE	=	Rassegna di studi etiopici.
ZDMG	=	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

The mention of a periodical without title or author refers to an article by the author of this study published in the mentioned periodical.

Languages

A	=	Aymellel	G	=	Geez	S	=	Selti
Amh	=	Amharic	Gaf	=	Gafat	Te	=	Tigre
Arg	=	Argobba	Go	=	Gogot	Tna	=	Tigrinya
Č	=	Chaha	Gt	=	Gyeto	W	=	Wolane
E	=	Eža	M	=	Muher	Z	=	Zway
En	=	Ennemor	Ms	=	Masqan			

INTRODUCTION

HARARI is a language spoken only in the city of Harar, which is situated about 350 miles to the east of Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. [1] The native name of the language is the Galla expression *Adare*, or, with the Amharic ending, *Adarəñña*. Inhabitants of Harar also call their language *gē sinān* "the language of the city", *gē* ("city") designating the city of Harar; but usually they call it *Adare*. For the purposes of this study, "Harari", the name Western scholars have adopted for the language, will be used.

For the student of Ethiopic, Harari presents several interesting problems. They arise from the fact that Harari, though a Semitic Ethiopic language, is isolated from the other Semitic Ethiopic languages and is spoken in a Cushitic environment. The Cushitic elements are varied: there are those that belong to the substratum language of Sidamo, a language group no longer spoken in that region, and there are those of Galla and Somali, the neighboring languages of Harari. Another question is that of the historical connections between the inhabitants of Harar and the various ethnic elements of Northern Ethiopia. A precise knowledge of these connections would throw light on the linguistic relationship that exists between Harari and the North Ethiopic languages. And finally, its precise position within the other Ethiopic languages still remains to be investigated.

The morphology shows that Harari is a language independent of the other Ethiopic languages. Though essentially of the South Ethiopic type, it contains archaic features of the Proto-Ethiopic language. [2] As for its position in South Ethiopic, there are strong indications that Harari formed a dialectal unity with Eastern Gurage, that is, Selti, Ulbarag, Wolane, and Zway. [3]

A study of the vocabulary reveals that there are various strata in the language. There is the Harari stock not found in the other Ethiopic languages; there is the vocabulary common to the other Ethiopic languages, and particularly to the East Gurage group; there is the vocabulary of the Sidamo substratum; and finally, there are the numerous loanwords from Galla, Somali, Amharic, and Arabic. [4]

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[1]   The strange fact that Harari is spoken only in the city of Harar can perhaps be explained by the nature of the city. Indeed, Harar is a walled city with five gates. For general information and a bibliography on Harar, see E. Littmann, art. *Harar* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Cerulli, pp. 1-55.
[2]   *JAOS*, 71 (1951), 212-230.
[3]   Cohen, p. 42; Cerulli, p. 441.
[4]   For the Arabic loanwords, see W. Leslau, "Arabic loanwords in Harari", in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1956), pp. 14-35. For the Sidamo elements, see Cerulli, p. 440.

1

The first vocabularies and small collections of texts of Harari were published by H. Salt, [1] C. T. Beke, [2] and R. F. Burton. [3] These documents were utilized by F. Müller [4] and F. Praetorius [5] from the morphological point of view. Other vocabularies and small texts were furnished by P. Paulitschke [6] and L. Bricchetti-Robecchi. [7] A Harari manuscript collected by F. Mondon-Vidailhet was published by C. Conti Rossini. [8] The various texts of Burton, Paulitschke, Bricchetti-Robecchi, and Conti Rossini were reëdited by E. Littmann in his various studies, [9] with a grammatical and philological commentary. A firsthand grammatical description of Harari was published by F. Mondon-Vidailhet. [10] A sound description of the language was presented by Marcel Cohen. [11] The most complete study on Harari was published by E. Cerulli. [12] I reëdited with etymologies and comparisons a vocabulary in manuscript collected by Mondon-Vidailhet as well as the various vocabularies by the above-mentioned authors. [13]

These various studies, important as they are for our knowledge of Harari, do not present a complete view of the structure of the language. Among other things, innumerable details in the domain of the verb remain unanswered or are presented in a summary way. The presentation of the various verbal classes, of the derived stems, and of the conjugation is incomplete. I, therefore, decided to take up the investigation of Harari during my various stays in Ethiopia in 1946-1947, 1950, and 1954. [14] After collecting a vocabulary of about 2.500 roots and some texts, [15] I undertook the investigation of the Harari morphology. The present study deals with the morphology of the verb. I am well aware that

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[1]   *A voyage to Abyssinia and travels into the interior of that country* (London, 1814). Appendix 1, pp. vi-x: English-Harari-Galla vocabulary.

[2]   "On the languages and dialects of Abyssinia and the countries to the south", *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, 2 (London, 1846), 89-107. Among the various vocabularies of pp. 97-107 Harari is also mentioned.

[3]   *First footsteps in East Africa: or, An exploration of Harar* (London, 1856), pp. 511-582. The English-Harari vocabulary is given in transliteration.

[4]   "Über die Harari-Sprache im östlichen Afrika", *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 44 (Wien, 1863), 601-613.

[5]   "Über die Sprache von Harar," *ZDMG*, 23 (1869), 453-472, and in his *Die amharische Sprache* (1879), *passim*.

[6]   *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somâl, Galla und Harari* (2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1886), pp. 70, 71, 73, 77-96; *Harar* (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 516-531.

[7]   "Lingue parlate somali, galla e harari", *Bolletino della Società geographica Italiana*, ser. 3, vol. 3 (Rome, 1890), pp. 257-271, 380-391, 689-708; "Testi nelle lingue harar e galla", *Rendiconti della Reale accademia dei Lincei*. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, ser. 5, vol. 1 (Rome, 1892), pp. 254-259; "Note sulle lingue parlate somali, galla e harari raccolte ed ordinate nell'Harar", *Bolletino della Società africana d'Italia* (Napoli, 1895-1897), *passim*; *Nell'Harar* (Milano, 1896), pp. 212-213.

[8]   "Testi in lingua harari, "*Rivista degli studi orientali* 8 (1919-1920), 401-425.

[9]   "Die Partikel, -*ma* im Harari", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 33 (1921), 103-122; "Bemerkungen zu den neuen Harari-Texten", *ZDMG*, 75 (1921), 21-36; "Harari-Studien", *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, 1 (1922), 38-84.

[10]   *La langue harari et les dialectes éthiopiens du Gouraghê* (Paris, 1902), pp. 1-71.

[11]   *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional* (Paris, 1931), pp. 243-354. Grammar and some texts.

[12]   *Studi etiopici. I. La lingua e la storia di Harar* (Rome, 1936). Grammar, vocabulary, and texts.

[13]   "Contributions à l'étude du harari", *Journal asiatique*, 229 (1937), 431-479, 529-606.

[14]   "A year of research in Ethiopia", *Word*, 4 (1948), 212-225; "Report on a second trip to Ethiopia", *Word*, 8 (1952), 72-79.

[15]   For some Harari songs, see W. Leslau, "Chansons harari", *RSE*, 6 (1947), 130-160.

certain details will have to be rectified, but I am hopeful that the reader will gain a fairly adequate insight into the structure of the Harari verb.

In order to describe and analyze the position of Harari in the Ethiopic languages I compared, wherever possible, the structure of the Harari verb with that of the other Ethiopic languages. I should state here that only a feature that is common to Harari and the other Ethiopic languages will be mentioned here. Features of the various Ethiopic languages that differ from those of Harari are not enumerated in this study.

Since the various Ethiopic languages are compared with Harari, it is appropriate to enumerate briefly the Semitic Ethiopic languages and point out the areas in which they are spoken. From the descriptive and geographical point of view the Ethiopic languages are to be divided into two groups: North Ethiopic and South Ethiopic. North Ethiopic includes Geez, Tigre, and Tigrinya; South Ethiopic includes Amharic, Argobba, Harari, Gafat, and Gurage. The language of Geez can be considered as representative of the Proto-Ethiopic type; it is no longer spoken, but remains the language of the liturgy. Tigre is spoken in the northern part of Eritrea, in the region of Keren (up to the border of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan), in Massawa, and on the islands of Dahlak. Tigrinya is spoken in the northern part of Ethiopia and in Eritrea. Amharic is used in the central part of Ethiopia and is the national language of the country. Argobba is spoken in the region of Ankober, north of Addis Ababa. Harari is spoken in the city of Harar. Gafat was spoken in the southern part of Godjam, in the region of the Blue Nile, but at present is spoken by only a few individuals. Gurage is a language cluster spoken in the province of the same name situated southwest of Addis Ababa. It is divided into three main groups: (*a*) Western Gurage, including Chaha, Eža, Ennemor, Gyeto, Endegeň, with a subgroup of Muher, Masqan, and Gogot; (*b*) Eastern Gurage including Selti, Ulbarag, Wolane, and the languages spoken on the islands of Lake Zway; (*c*) Northern Gurage with Aymellel as its only representative.

The consonant phonemes of Harari are:
Labials: *b*, *f*, *m*, *w*
Dentals (including sibilants): *d*, *t*, *ṭ* (glottalized), *ẓ*, *s*
Liquids: *n*, *l*, *r*
Palatals: *ñ*, *š*, *y*; affricates: *ǧ*, *č*, *č̣*
Velars: *g*, *k*, *q* (glottalized), *ḵ* (spirant)
Glottal stop: ʼ
Laryngeal: *ḥ*

The laryngeal *ḥ* and the velar voiced *ǧ* exist only in the Arabic loanwords. The velar spirant *ḵ* is phonemic in Arabic loanwords; in native Harari roots *ḵ* is in phonetic variation with *k*.

Note the "glottalized" pronunciation of *ṭ*, *č̣*, and *q*, that is characteristic of all the Semitic Ethiopic languages.

Etymologically *ṭ* of Harari goes back to Geez *ṭ*, *ṣ*, and *ḍ*; ' goes back to Geez ' and ʻ; *ḥ* corresponds to Geez *h*, *ḥ* and *ḫ*.

The palatals and affricates *ñ*, *š*, *ǧ*, *č*, and *č̣* do not exist in Geez. These sounds are phonemic in Harari. However, they can also present a palatalized stage of the Geez sounds *n*, *s*, *d*, *t*, and *ṭ* (*ṣ*, *ḍ*).

The vocalic system of Harari is as follows: *ä* (with phonetic variants *a*, *å*), *ā*, *ē* (*e*), *i* (with a phonetic variant *ə*), *ī*, *ū* (*u*), *ō* (*o*).

The reader will notice an occasional inconsistency in the presentation of the vowels *ä* and *a* of Harari. This inconsistency is due to the fact that these vowels are indistinguishable in the pronunciation. The exact shade of the vowel sound would have to be investigated through precise phonetic analysis.

The Harari vowel *ī* corresponds etymologically to the vowel *i* of the other Ethiopic languages, whereas the Harari vowel *i* is often interchanges with *ə* in Harari itself and corresponds to the vowel *ə* of the other Ethiopic languages. The Harari vowel *ā* corresponds most often to the vowel *a* of the other Ethiopic languages, whereas the Harari vowel *a* corresponds to *ä* of the other Ethiopic languages.

The vowels of Geez are transcribed as follows: 1st order *ä*, 2nd order *u*, 3rd order *i*, 4th order *a*, 5th order *e*, 6th order *ə*, 7th order *o*.

Any syllable of the Harari noun or verb can be accented, but the accent has no phonemic value in Harari.

SURVEY OF THE VERB

TYPES

THE HARARI VERB is biliteral (§ 44 ff.), triliteral (§ 1 ff.), and quadriliteral (§ 49 ff.). A particular group is formed by the compound verbs (§ 51 ff.). Since most of the biliterals are in connection with original triliterals, the triliteral verb will be taken as a paradigm. The cited form is that of the masculine singular, 3rd person perfect of the basic stem.

Considering vocalic structure, the verb has four types, which are differentiated by the vowel of the first radical.
1. Type A: *säbära*. Characterized by the vowel *ä* after the 1st radical (§ 1).
2. Type B: *sēdäqa*. Characterized by the vowel *ē* after the 1st radical (§ 2).
3. Type C: *māgäda*. Characterized by the vowel *ā* after the 1st radical (§ 3).
4. Type D: *bōräda*. Characterized by the vowel *ō* after the 1st radical (§ 4).
These four types are found in the triliteral verbs and in most of the biliterals. The quadriliterals have two types only:
1. Type A: *giläbäṭa*. The vowel of the 1st radical is *i*, that of the 2nd and 3rd radicals is *ä*, and the vowel of the last radical is *a* as in the triliterals (§ 49a).
2. Type C: *qimäṭära*. The characteristic vowel is *ā* after the 2nd radical. The vowels of the other radicals are the same as in type A (§ 49).

VERBAL CLASSES

BASIC STEM

TRILITERALS

Regular class
Type A: *säbära* (§ 1).
Type B: *sēdäqa* (§ 2).
Type C: *māgäda* (§ 3).
Type D: *bōräda* (§ 4).
  Special verbal classes
    Verbs with 1st radical *w* (§ 37)
Type A: *wȧdäda*.
Type B: *wētäfa*.
Type C: *wäläla*.
    Verbs with vocalic initial (§ 38)
Type A: *agäda*.
Type B: *ēmära*.
    Verbs with 2nd radical ' (§ 39)

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Type A: *laʾaka.*
Type B: *sēʾada.*
Type D: **bōʾara.*
   Verbs with 3rd radical ʾ (§ 40)
Type A: *gäbaʾa.*
Type B: *ḥēmaʾa.*
Type C: *qābaʾa.*
Type D: *gōfaʾa.*
   Verbs with 1st radical *ḥ* (§ 41)
Type A: *ḥadäga.*
Type B: *ḥēsäba.*
Type C: *ḥākäka.*
   Verbs with 2nd radical *ḥ* (§ 42)
Type A: *laḥasa.*
Type B: *lēḥama.*
Type C: **gāḥama.*
Type D: *rōḥaqa.*
   Verbs with 3rd radical *ḥ* (§ 43)
Type A: *bäzaḥa, bäzḥa.*
Type B: *qēraḥa.*
Type C: *rāǧäḥa.*
Type D: *fōräḥa.*

BILITERALS

The biliterals originate mostly from triliterals in which the 2nd or 3rd radical became *zero* for phonetic reasons. Some of the biliterals are of Cushitic origin.

Class *bäka, säča* contains biliterals originating from triliterals with the last radical *w* or *y* (§ 44):
Type A: *bäka, säča.*
Type B: *mēča.*
Type C: *fāča.*
Type D: *qōča.*

Class *kāna* contains biliteral verbs with the vowel *ā* after the 1st radical (§ 45). There is only one type.

Class *mōta* contains biliteral verbs with the vowel *ō* after the 1st radical (§ 46). There is only one type.

Class *lēta* contains biliteral verbs with the vowel *ē* after the 1st radical. There is only one type (§ 47).

Class *dīga, riʾa* contains biliteral verbs with the vowel *ī, i* after the 1st radical. There is one type (§ 48).

QUADRILITERALS

Type A: *gilābāṭa* (§ 49a).
Type C: *qimāṭāra* (§ 49e).

COMPOUND VERBS

This class contains an invariable element followed by *bāya* "say", *āša* "make", or *ḳāna* "be, become" (§ 51).

STEMS

FREQUENTATIVE STEM

The frequentative stem expresses an intensive, repeated, or attenuative action. It is formed by the repetition of the 2nd radical, the form being *gidādäla* for the types A, B, and C. Type D forms the frequentative *qŭrārāma* (§ 29).

DERIVED STEMS

The types A, B, C, and D of the basic stem as well as of the frequentative stem have the following derived stems:

1. Reflexive-passive stem: it is formed by the morpheme *tä-* prefixed to the basis of the fundamental stem (§ 30).

2. Reciprocal stem: it is formed by the morpheme *tä-* added either to the basis of the frequentative stem or of the type C regardless of the original type of the verb (§ 31).

3. The causative stem is formed:
   (a) either by the prefix *a-* added to the basis of the fundamental stem (§ 32), or
   (b) by the prefix *at-* added to the basis of type B regardless of whether the verb is of type A or B. For verbs of type C, the morpheme *at-* is added either to the basis of type B or C. For verbs of type D, the morpheme *at-* is added to the basis of the fundamental stem (§ 33).

4. Causative of reciprocal: it is formed by the morpheme *at-* prefixed either to the type C or to the frequentative stem regardless of the original type of the verb (§ 34).

5. Adjutative: it is formed by the morpheme *at-* prefixed to the basis of type C regardless of the original type of the verb (§ 35).

Prefixed Morphemes.

The morphemes serving in the formation of the derived stems are as follows:

tä- (a) prefixed to the basis of the fundamental stem, it expresses mainly the reflexive-passive.

(b) prefixed to the basis of type C or the frequentative stem, it expresses reciprocity.

a- prefixed to the basis of the fundamental stem, it expresses mainly the causative.

at- (a) prefixed to the basis of type B, C, or D, it expresses the causative.
    (b) prefixed to the basis of type C or of the frequentative stem, it expresses the causative of the reciprocal.
    (c) prefixed to the basis of type C, it expresses the adjutative.

MOODS, ASPECTS, AND TENSES

The forms are those of type A.

The perfect (*säbära*) expresses the past (§ 8). The perfect followed by *när₍a₎* expresses the pluperfect (§ 9). The perfect followed by *-ma* expresses an incidental action (§ 10).

The simple imperfect (*yisäbri*) expresses the present or future in the subordinate clause (§ 14). The simple imperfect followed by *när(a)* expresses a continuous action in the past (§ 15).

The compound imperfect (*yisäbräl*) expresses the present or future in the main clause (§ 16).

The negative present or future in the main clause is expressed either by *aysäbri* (§ 18, 22) or by *yisäbrumēl* (§ 19, 22).

The negative present or future in the subordinate clause is expressed by *aysibär* (§ 23).

The jussive (*yäsbär*) and the imperative (*sibär*) express an order (§ 25, 26). The negative jussive expresses a defense (§ 26).

The verbal noun or infinitive is expressed by *mäsbär* (§ 27). The passive participle is expressed by *sŭbúr* (§ 28).

BASIC STEM

TRILITERALS

§ 1. Type A

(*a*) The form of type A is *sābära*. It is characterized by three radicals, the first two radicals having the vowel *ä* while the vowel of the last radical is *a*. [1] The accent is on the second syllable (*sábära*), but for the sake of convenience will not be marked in the verbs listed below.

The meaning of the verbs of type A is varied. They may be active, transitive, intransitive, verbs of state, of movement, and so on. The nature of the consonants gives no indication of the meaning of the verbs.

The second radical of type A is simple in Geez, which has the classes *nägärä* and *läbsä*, in Tigre *fägra*, in Tigrinya *säbärä*, [2] and in East Gurage: S.W.Z. *säbärä*. [3] For the type A of the other Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, p. 91.

(*b*) Some of the recorded verbs of type A also occur in Amharic. [4] Others are found only in Harari. The verbs are arranged alphabetically within each section.

Verbs occurring in Amharic as well as in Harari are: *bäqäla* "grow, prosper", *bäräda* "be cold", *bäṭäsa* "pull out", *čämäqa* "squeeze, wring cloth", *däräqa* "be dry", *färäda* "judge", *färäṭa* "burst", *fäṭäna* "be in a hurry", *gädäla* "kill", *gäläṭa* "expose", *gäräfa* "lash", *käfäla* "pay", *käfäta* "open", *kätäfa* "hash", *kädäna* "cover", *ḵäsära* "lose in business", *ḵätära* "prevent, hinder" (Amh. *kättärä* "interrupt"), *läbäqa* "whip", *läbäsa* "dress", *lämäda* "study, be accustomed", *läqäma* "pick up", *mägäla* "suppurate", *mäläṭa* "pull off, take off", *märäga* "plaster", *märäṭa* "strip off, penalize", *mäsäla* "be like, appear", *nädäfa* "sting, card", *nägäsa* "rule", *näkära* "soak", *näkäsa* "bite", *näqäla* "uproot", *qäbära* "bury", *qädäma* "advance", *qäläba* "catch the ball, catch the legs of someone to make him fall", *rägäfa* "shake, fall down (fruit)", *rägäṭa* "kick", *räḵäsa* "be cheap", *säbära* "break", *sädäba* "offend", *säfära* "camp", *sägäda* "prostrate, pray", *sägära* "amble" (Amh. *saggärä*), *säḵära* "be drunk", *säläba* "castrate", *säqäla* "hang up", *šäräfa* "be notched", *täräfa* "remain", *ṭäbäqa* "be tight", *ṭäläfa* "rob, tie the legs of the animal", *ṭäläqa* "dip into, plunge", *ṭämäda* "put the

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[1] For the final *-a*, see *Word*, 5 (1949), 275.
[2] The verbs with the 2nd radical laryngeal have the type *säm'e*.
[3] Chaha and Ennemor of the Western Gurage group likewise have the 2nd radical simple (not geminated), but there are indications that the simple consonant represents an ancient geminated consonant; see *Word*, 4 (1948), 44, 45.
[4] In Amharic type A has the form *läqqämä*, that is, the 2nd radical geminated with a final *ä*

yoke", *ṭäqäsa* "nod", *ṭäräga* "sweep", *ẓäräfa* "pillage". Out of these verbs only *bäṭäsa* seems to be of type B in Amharic.

(*c*) Verbs of the class 1.2.2., that is, verbs with 2nd and 3rd radicals alike are: *bänäna* "be sprinkled", *bärära* "fly", *fäzäza* "be feeble (eye)", *käsäsa* "accuse", *märära* "be bitter", *mäsäsa* "draw the sword" (Amh. *mäzzäzä*), *qädäda* "tear", *sädäda* "chase away", *säkäka* "string" (Amh. *säkka*), *särära* "climb (male on female)", *ṭäbäba* "be narrow".

(*d*) Harari verbs that do not occur in Amharic are: *čäbäqa* "lisp", *däbäla* "add", *däläga* "work", *fäläqa* "hit on the head", *färäka* "can, be able", *fäṭära* "break the fast", *gädära* "grow", *gäfära* "send", *gäräda* "ignore", *kätäba* "write", *ḵäläqa* "create", *lägäda* "have intercourse", *mäšäta* "have bad taste", *nädäla* "make a hole", *nägäsa* "be impure", *nätäqa* "vomit", *nätära* "bleed", *qäbäṭa* "lack, miss", *qäläta* "be proud", *räḵäba* "find", *säläta* "be saved, arrive safe", *täkäsa* "squeeze together, stuff in", *ṭämäsa* "lose", *ẓäläma* "rain", *ẓämäda* "drag", *ẓäräfa* "be bad".

(*e*) Verbs of the class 1.2.2.: *bäläla* "become bad", *bäzäza* "be blurred", *gäläla* "cut the edges, cut the finger nails", *käfäfa*, *ḵäfäfa* "be light", *läqäqa* "twist (joints)", *mäḵäḵa* "feel uneasy", *tänäna* "smoke", *ṭärära-* (with suffixed pronouns) "be thirsty".

§ 2. Type B

(*a*) Type B has the form *sēdäqa*. This type is characterized by the vowel *ē* after the 1st radical; the 2nd radical is simple.

In several other Ethiopic languages, this type has the 2nd radical geminated, the vowel of the 1st radical being *ä*, *i*, or *e*. It corresponds to the "intensive" stem of the other Semitic languages (2nd stem of Arabic, piʿel of Hebrew, etc.) as far as the form is concerned, but not for the grammatical category. If in the other Semitic languages the "intensive" stem is to be considered as a stem derived from the basic stem, this is not the case in Ethiopic where type B of Harari or the "geminated" type of certain other Ethiopic languages has an existence independent of the type A or the "simple" type. That is to say that one cannot form at will in Ethiopic a verb of the "geminated" type or of type B from any verb of the "simple" type or type A. Type B is a basic stem. [1] The verbs of type A and B belong in Harari to the domain of the vocabulary and do not constitute grammatical categories. [2] Indeed, the verbs of type B can be transitive, intransitive, verbs of movement, and so on, as are the verbs of type A. They are in no morphological nor semantic relation with the verbs of type A. Note, however, that the stem with *at-* is formed only with the basis of type B regardless of the original type (§ 33b).

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[1] *JAOS*, 65 (1945), 4, and n. 12; *Gafat*, pp. 93-94.
[2] Cerulli, p. 97, 101, following Cohen, p. 289, 295, explains the existence of the vowel *ē* through the quality of the 1st or 2nd radical laryngeal or the 1st radical *ʿ* or *č*, but as it can be seen from the examples given here (and also from Cohen, p. 295), type B can occur with any type of consonant as 1st or 2nd radical; see Leslau, p. 439, and here, p. 11, n. 4.

The languages that have the vowel *ē* (*e*) after the 1st radical and the second radical simple (not geminated) are Selti, Wolane (*betänä*). [1] Argobba has *neggäda*, [2] Go.M. *bettänä*, that is to say, the vowel is *e* after the 1st radical, but the second radical is geminated. Č. and En. have *mečäqä(m)*, with a second radical simple, but, as in the case of type A (p. 9, n. 3), there are indications that originally the second radical was geminated. For the other languages, see *Gafat*, pp. 93-94.

(*b*) Verbs of type B also occurring in Amharic are: [3] *čēläma* "be dark", *gēbära* "pay taxes", *mēzäna* "weigh", *qēräfa* "skin off", *šēläma* "decorate", *šēmäqa* "hide", *zēgäna* "gather". These verbs, with the exception of *qēräfa*, also belong to type B in Amharic.

(*c*) Harari verbs that do not occur in Amharic are: *bēräna* "be bright", *bēräqa* "draw a picture", *bēšäna* "become watery", *čēkäla* "build", *fēdäga* "grind coarsely", *fētäna* "disperse, scatter", *gēbäta* "try, attempt", *gēräza* "plait", *gēzäma* "hope, wish, covet", *nēzäfa* "be clean", *qēmäsa* "sharpen", *qēqäla* "mention, refer to", *qēräma* "prune a tree", *rēzäna* "be heavy", *sēdäqa* "split", *šēläda* "shave", *zēgäda* "spread, distend", *zēläma* "do injustice".

(*d*) Type B serves for the expression of the denominative in *hēṭära* "make a fence", if we consider this a denominative of *huṭúr* "fence", and not the other way around. The root *hṭr* is used as type A in *haṭära* "be short".

The situation is the same in some Gurage dialects: Ms. *eṭṭärä*, Go. *eṭṭärä-m*, A. *iṭṭärä* "make a fence" (all of them in type B), from *ačor*, *aṭor* "fence", but Ms. Go. A. *aṭṭärä-m* "be short" of type A. For the other Ethiopic languages, cf. Te. *mäsla* "resemble" (type A), but *mässäla* "make a proverb" (type B), from *mäsäl* "proverb"; *'asra* "attach" (type A), but *'assära* "follow the traces" (type B), from *'asär* "trace".

§ 3. Type C

(*a*) The form is *māgäda*. It is characterized by the vowel *ā* after the 1st radicla and the second radical is simple. [4]

This type corresponds to the 3rd form of Arabic as far as the form is concerned, but not for its morphological value. The 3rd form of Arabic is to be considered as a derived stem in relation to the basic stem or the 1st form, whereas in Harari, as well as in nearly all the other Ethiopic languages, [5] type C has an existence independent of type A. Indeed, in Harari one can no longer form a verb of type C from a verb of type A. Type C is a basic stem in Harari. As is the case ın type B, the verbs of type C in Harari belong to the domain of the vocabulary and are not a pattern of a grammatical category. I did not record any verb that has a type C as well as type A or B.

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[1] A small number of verbs in S.W. have the 2nd radical geminated (*JAOS*, 72 [1951], nn. 84, 85).
[2] For the final -*a*, see *Word*, 5 (1949), 275.
[3] The Amharic type B has the form *fälläga*, that is, the 2nd radical geminated in all the forms.
[4] Cerulli, p. 97, is wrong in interpreting the existence of the vowel *ā* either because of the denominative nature of the verb or because of the quality of the 1st radical (see p. 10 n. 2). For the type C in South Ethiopic, see H. Fleisch, *Les verbes à allongement vocalique interne en sémitique* (Paris, 1944), *passim*; and W. Leslau, "Le type verbal *qātala* en éthiopien méridional", *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, 21 (1954), fasc. 2, pp. 15-95.
[5] For Tigre, see *JAOS*, 68 (1948), 132.

In all the Ethiopic languages type C has the vowel *a* after the 1st radical. The languages that have the 2nd radical simple are: G. Tna. *baräkä*, Te. *baräka*;[1] in South Ethiopic: S.W.Z. *qaṭära*. Chaha and Ennemor likewise have the form *banärä(m)*, but as in the types A and B (p. 9, n. 3), the 2nd radical was originally geminated. For the other Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, p. 95.

(*b*) The verbs of type C that also occur in Amharic are[2]: *gāgära* "bake", *māräka* "take prisoner", *qāṭära* "tie, bind" (Amh. *qʷaṭṭärä*).

(*c*) Harari verbs of type C that do not occur in Amharic: *bārāga* "bolt suddenly", *fālāsa* "praise", *gāmāla* "fold", *ḳādāma* "serve", *lāqāṭa* "mix", *māgäda* "burn, fry, cauterize", *nāqāsa* "diminish", *nāwāṭa* "change", *nāwāza* "change completely, upset", *qāyāsa* "measure", *sāfāra* "travel", *sāmāta* "gather", *šāḳāta* "become mouldy".

Verbs of the class 1.2.2.: *kārāra* "chatter", *ḳātāta* "store, preserve," *qānāna* "stand",[3] *ṭālāla* "wind, wrap".

§ 4. Type D

(*a*) The form is *bōräda*. It is characterized by the vowel *ō* after the 1st radical; the second radical is simple. As will be seen from the examples mentioned below, nearly all of them have a velar *g*, *k*, *q* as first or second radical, or a labial in the root. It is possible, therefore, that the vowel *ō* results from an original labiovelar or a rounded labial with the vowel *ä* becoming an ordinary consonant with the vowel *ō*; thus **gʷädära > gōdära*.[4] As for *ṭōlāga* "wither", it represents a contracted quadriliteral with the 2nd radical *w* if we keep in mind the Amh. verb *ṭāwällägä*.

The situation is the same in the languages in which the labiovelars exist. Thus, for instance, in Amharic: *qʷäṭṭärä* and *qoṭṭärä* "count", *kʷälläfä* and *kolläfä* "hit lightly with the hand"; in Tigrinya: *moqḥe* "chain", *kolälä* "visit the field".

(*b*) The recorded verbs of this type are: *bōräda* "arrive", *bōsära* "be putrid, rotten", *dōdäma* "be blunt", *gōdära* "be long", *gōfäla* "become thin, skinny" (Amh. *gʷäffälä*), *gōläba* "make a cover for the food basket" (Amh. *gʷälläbä* "cover the drum with skin"), *ḳōläṭa* "be acid", *qōnäṭa* "pinch", *qōräma* "hit with the knuckles on the head", *qōrära* "be near", *qōräsa* "pay a down payment", *sōmäna* "fast", *ṭōläga* "wither", *ṭōqäsa* "beg".

TENSES AND MOODS

PERFECT

§ 5. Positive Perfect

(*a*) The suffixes of the perfect are:

	Singular		Plural	
3rd masc.	*-a*	⎫		
3rd fem.	*-ti*	⎬	3rd com.	*-u*

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[1] For the final *-a*, see *Word*, 5 (1949), 275.
[2] The Amharic type is *marräkä*, that is, the 2nd radical is geminated.
[3] Cohen, p. 287, and Cerulli, pp. 100, 267, give the form *qanana* as if were of the type A.
[4] See also Cohen, p. 294.

2nd masc.	-*ḵi*	⎱	2nd com.	-*ḵu*
2nd fem.	-*ši*	⎰		
1st com.	-*ḵu*		1st com.	-*na*

From type A: *sābär-*

	Singular			Plural
3rd masc.	*sābär-a*	⎱	3rd com.	*sābär-u*
3rd fem.	*sābär-ti*	⎰		
2nd masc.	*sābär-ḵi*	⎱	2nd com.	*sābär-ḵu*
2nd fem.	*sābär-ši*	⎰		
1st com.	*sābär-ḵu*		1st com.	*sābär-na*

Type B *sēdäq-*, type C *māgäd-*, type D *bōräd-*, are conjugated in the same way.

(*b*) The 3rd person, plural with the suffixed pronoun of the 3rd masc. sg. serves for the expression of the impersonal; thus *lēṭo gir* "if they go, if one goes", *lēṭo* representing the 3rd pers. pl. *lēṭu-* with the suffixed pronoun of the 3rd masc. singular; *sābäro gir* "if they break, if one breaks"; *bāyo* "they say, one says"; *yōlöḥul* "they eat, one eats".

Suffixes. Sg. 3rd masc. -*a*. The same ending occurs in Argobba and in Tigre. [1]

3rd fem. -*ti*. The final -*i* is euphonic serving to avoid the final consonant cluster. [2] A final -*i* is also found in Go. and A. -*ätti*, but its function is probably not the same. The suffix is -*t*(*i*), without a vowel after the 3rd radical (*sābär-ti*), like in S.W.Z.; in the other languages the suffix is -*ät*.

2nd masc. -*ḵi*. The spirant *ḵ* comes from an original *k* which became *h* in the other Ethiopic languages. Harari is the only language with a final -*i*; the vowel is euphonic, the suffix being -*ḵ* from *kä*.

2nd fem. -*ši*. It represents a palatalization of the Proto-Ethiopic -*ki*; the palatal -*š* also occurs in Amh. En. Ms. S.W. Zway. A final -*i* is found in A. Go. -*ši-n*.

1st com. -*ḵu*. It comes from Proto-Ethiopic -*ku* which became -*hu* in other Ethiopic languages. Plural. The 2nd and 3rd persons are common to masculine and feminine, as is the case in Amh. Arg. and S.W.Z. The 1st person is common in all the Ethiopic languages.

3rd com. -*u*. This ending occurs in G. Te. Tna. Arg. S.W.Z.

2nd com. -*ḵu* coming from *-*ḵum*. The ending is also -*ḵu* in the negative perfect of Č. and En. (the positive perfect has the form -*ḵum*). The weakened form -*hu* is found in Ms. (-*hu*) and in Amh. -*ač-uh* (-*ač* being the plural morpheme of the noun).

1st com. -*na* like in Te. and Tigrinya.

For the suffixes of all the other Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, pp. 97-98.

(*c*) In those verbs in which a velar *g*, *k*, *q*, an affricate *ǧ*, *č*, *č̣*, a sibilant *s*, and a dental *d*, *t*, *ṭ* appear as the final consonant, combination with the various suffixes of the perfect results in certain morpho-phonemic changes, due chiefly to assimilation.

Thus, in verbs ending in *g* (such as *ḥadäga* "leave", *ṭäräga* "sweep") with the consonantal suffix -*ḵ*, the forms are: *ḥadäḵḵi*, *ḥadäḵḵu*, for *ḥadäg-ḵi*, *ḥadäg-ḵu* [3].

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[1] *Word*, 5 (1949), 275.

[2] Harari is a language type that avoids a final consonant cluster in the noun and in the verb; thus, imperfect *yəsäbri* from *yəsäbr*; *zəmbi* "fly", from *zəmb*.

[3] Cerulli, p. 114, gives a simple *ḵ*: *ṭaraḵu* (from *ṭäräga*).

When verbs ending in *k* (such as *säka* "flee", *bäka* "cry") are combined with the suffix -*ḵ*, the forms are: *säḵḵi* "you fled", *säḵḵu* "I fled", from *säk-ḵi, säk-ḵu*.[1]

When verbs ending in -*q* (such as *āqa* "know", *šēmäqa* "hide") are combined with the consonant suffix -*ḵ*, the forms are: *ā'ḵi* or *āḵḵı* "you knew", for *āq-ḵi*; *ā'ḵu, āḵḵu,* and *āqḵu* "I knew".[2]

When verbs ending in -*ğ* (such as *tämäğa* "cross") are combined with the suffixes -*ḵ*, -*š*, the forms are: *tämäšši* "you (fem.) crossed", for *tämäğ-ši*; *tämäyti* or *tämäg'ti* "she crossed", for *tämäğ-ti*. From *ḥağa* "pierce": *ḥašši* "you (fem.) pierced", for *ḥağ-ši*; *ḥayti, ḥad'ti* "she pierced", for *ḥağ-ti*. From *fäğa* "finish": *fädši* or *fässi* "you (fem.) finished", for *fäğ-ši*; *fäd'ti* "she finished", for *fäğ-ti*. From *rōğa* "steal": *rōṣ́ki* "you stole", for *rōğ́ki*; *rōšši* "you (fem.) stole", for *rōğši*.

When verbs ending in -*č* (such as *säča* "drink") are combined with the suffixes -*č*, -*t*, the forms are: *säšši* "you (fem.) drank", for *säč-ši*; *sät'ti* "she drank", for *säč-ti*.

When verbs ending in -*č̣* are combined with the suffixes -*š*, -*t*, the forms are as following. From *fäča* "grind": *fässi* and *fäč̣ši* "you (fem.) ground"; *fät'ti* "she ground", for *fäč̣-ti*.[3] From *mēča* "wash": *mētti* "she washed", for *mēč̣-ti*. From *āča* "make go out": *āč̣ši* and *āšši* "you (fem.) made go out"; *āt'ti* "she made go out", for *āč̣-ti*.

When verbs ending in -*s* (such as *läbäsa* "dress", *näkäsa* "bite") are combined with the suffix *š*, the forms are: *läbäšši* "you (fem.) dressed", for *läbäs-ši*; *näkäšši* "you (fem.) bit", for *näkäs-ši*.

When verbs ending in -*d* (such as *ēmäda* "say", *lämäda* "study") are combined with the suffix -*š*, the forms are: *ēmäšši* and *ēmädši* "you (fem.) said"; *lämäšši* "you (fem.) learned", for *lämäd-ši*. Before the voiceless *ḵ*, the final *d* of the verb becomes a voiceless *t*: *ārätḵu* "I placed", for *ārädḵu*; *ẕämätḵi* "you pulled", for *ẕämädḵi*.[4]

When verbs ending in -*t* (such as *käfäta* "open") are combined with the suffix -*š*, the forms are: *käfätši* and *käfäšši* "you (fem.) opened".

When verbs ending in -*ṭ* (such as *mäḥaṭa* "hit", *säṭa* "give") are combined with the suffixes -*š*, -*t*, the forms are: *mäḥaṭši* and *mäḥašši* "you (fem.) hit"; *säṭṭi* "she gave", for *säṭ-ti*.

For *lēṭa* "go", Cerulli[5] gives the form *lēč̣ši* for *lēṭši*.

§ 6. Negative Perfect

(*a*) The negative perfect is formed by the prefixed negative element *al-* and the suffixed -*m*. The form is *al-säbärä-m, al-säbära-m*.

The final -*l* of *al-* is assimilated to the first radical *r, n* of the verb; thus, *arrä-*

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[1]　Cerulli, p. 114, gives a simple *ḵ*: *baḵu* (from *bäka*), *säḵu* (from *säka*).

[2]　Cerulli, pp. 98, 114, gives the forms *šēmaḥu, šēmaḥi*, from *šēmäqa* (in my transcription *šēmaḵu, šēmaḵi*); *āḥu* (that is *aḵu*, from *āqa*), but also *nata'ḥu* (that is, *nata'ḵu*, from *nätäqa*).

[3]　Cerulli, p. 115, gives the form *fayti*.

[4]　The verb for "gather" was recorded by me as *sāmata* and not *samada* as in Cerulli, pp. 117, 271.

[5]　*Harar*, p. 109.

ḵäbä-m "he did not find", for *al-räḵäbä-m*; *annäḵäsäm* "he did not bite", for *al-näḵäsä-m*. [1]

(*b*) The final *-m* can also be attached to an element of the sentence other than the verb; thus, *gīš alzäläma giru-m iḫīğa-lē maḥra ifärkäḵ* "if it does not rain tomorrow I can go to see him", lit. "tomorrow it-does-not-rain if in-order-that-I-see-him-to-go I-can", the ending *-m* is attached to the conjunction *giru-m*; *ẓala abbama gärẓo ẓäsēma täs-um aläyeu* "the owner who sold his house is not pleased", lit. "that-is-to-him owner-indeed his-house who-sold he-is-not-pleased" the ending *-u-m* being attached to *täs* and not to the verb *aläya* "he did not say".

For the omission of *-m* in the relative negative, see § 7b.

The elements *al - - - m* are also used in Amh. and Argobba. For the other languages, see *Gafat*, p. 98.

§ 7. Relative perfect

(*a*) The form of the relative perfect in the positive is *ẓi-säbära*, that is, the relative element *ẓi-* is prefixed to the verb. The element *ẓi-* is invariable in gender and number: *ẓi-säbärti* "she who broke", *ẓi-säbäru* "they who broke".

The relative element *ẓä-* is also used in Geez and Tigrinya, except that in Geez *ẓä-* is used only for the masculine, whereas the feminine uses *ʾəntä*, and the plural *ʾəllä*. For the other languages, see *Gafat*, p. 65.

(*b*) The form of the relative perfect in the negative is: *ẓälsäbära* "he who did not break", that is, the relative element *ẓ-*, the negative element *-äl* (instead of *al-* in the main clause, § 6a) prefixed to the verb. Note that the final *-m* of the negative verb (§ 6b) is omitted.

(*c*) The plural of the verb in the relative without an antecedent noun takes the plural morpheme of the noun; thus, *ẓi-mäḥaṭuk-äč* "those who hit you", lit. *ẓi-* "those who", *mäḥaṭu-* "they hit", *-ḵ* "you", *-äč* being the plural morpheme of the noun. Likewise in the imperfect: *yimäḥṭukẓäl-äč* "those who hit you". [2] If the relative verb has a noun to which the relative refers, the plural morpheme *-äč* is attached to the noun: *ẓimäḥaṭuk usuʾäč* "the men who hit you".

MEANING AND USAGE OF THE PERFECT

§ 8. Simple perfect

(*a*) The perfect expresses the past in the main and subordinate clause, in the positive and in the negative.

(*b*) Examples for the perfect in the main clause, in the affirmative and negative: *än bäḥarlē dīğa* "he came after me", lit. "I after he-came"; *nädi yäm liğiyu mäḥaṭka* "you hit the child the other day", lit. "former day the-child you-hit-him"; *bäẓẓina-bē ḥammisti amät tägēbäla* "he stayed in our country for five years", lit. "our-country-in five years he-stayed"; *säfär-bē is gäbaʾa-lē arriʾḵom* "I have not seen him since he returned from the trip", lit. "trip-from since-he-returned

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[1] But with *när(a)* "he was" I recorded *al-när* "he was not".
[2] See also Cerulli, pp. 169-170.

I-have-not-seen-him"; *nādi-bē allēṯkim* "you did not go before"; *kottaňam-ẓo albāla'am* "he has not eaten for two days".

(*c*) Examples for the perfect in the relative clause are: *ẓala abbama gārẓo ẓāsēma* "the owner who sold his house", lit. "that-is-to-him owner-indeed his-house who-sold"; *ān intaň yī gāru ẓičēkālḳo* "It is I who built this house", lit. "I it-is-I this house I-who-built-it"; *suggiya ẓigōrä'eu ba'ara sābaḥ inta* "the ox that the butcher slaughtered is fat", lit. "butcher who-slaughtered-him ox fat he-is"; *ān ẓitwâlädḳubo bād yitawâqẓāl inta* "the country where I was born is known", lit. "I that-I-was-born-in-it country that-it-is-known it-is"; [1] *wâraba ẓi-ri'a sa'a fāra* "when he saw the hyena he became frightened", lit. "hyena that-he-saw time he-was-frightened".

(*d*) The negative relative perfect followed by the preposition *-bē* expresses the meaning of "without that": *ẓ-ar-rōǧu-ḳu-bē* "without that they robbed you"; *ẓ-al-tiranna-bē* "without that we saw one another". [2]

(*e*) Examples for the perfect in the subordinate clause, with various conjunctions are: *dīnät kil sāmäta ḥaǧǧit yūḥūrāl* "he will undertake the pilgrimage after having collected the money", lit. "money after he-collected pilgrimage he-will-go"; *dīnātu is rōǧa bäḥarlē lēṭa* "he went away after he has stolen the money", lit. "the-money when he-stole after he-left"; *is bäla'ḳi is säčḳi mätgēbāl yätḳīšäḳāl* "whether you eat or drink you have to sit down", lit. "whether you-ate whether you-drank to-sit-down it-is-necessary-to-you"; *märiňe dīǧa gir(a) qorāmbe täqēbäla* "if my friend comes receive him well", lit. "my-friend he-came if well receive-him"; *säfär-bē is-gäba'a-lē arri'ḳom* "I have not seen him since he returned from the trip", lit. "trip-from since-he-returned I-have-not-seen-him"; *ẓi-dīǧa sa'a anqōrri bäla* "when he comes tell him to wait", lit. "that-he-came hour wait tell-him".

§ 9. Perfect + *nār*

(*a*) The perfect followed by *nār* (or *nāra*) expresses the pluperfect; the auxiliary *nār(a)* does not change, as a rule: *kätäba nār(a)* "he had written"; *kätäbti nār(a)* "she had written"; *märiňe-di maḥra ḳäsḳu-nār lākin anätēň-nār* "I had wanted to go to my friend, but I fell sick", lit. "my-friend-to to-go I-had-wanted but I-had-fallen-sick".

(*b*) In the negation, the negative element is joined to the main verb: *al-kätäbä-m-in nār* "he had not written" (note the element *-in* added to the negation).

(*c*) For the relative pluperfect, only the main verb with the relative element seems to be used: *ẓi-kätäba* "he who had written". For the negative relative pluperfect, however, I recorded the form *ẓälkätäba ẓināra* or *ẓälkätäba* "he who had not written", that is to say, the main verb in the relative negative followed or not by *ẓināra*.

In the conditional clause: *tāčina ẓäyẓilämẓo is-dīǧku nār* "if it had not rained yesterday I would have come" (note the conjunction *is-* preceding the perfect *-nār*).

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[1] For other examples of the relative clause with *inta* "it is, he is", see Cerulli, p. 170.
[2] The examples are taken from Cerulli, p. 170.

§ 10. Perfect + *ma*

(*a*) The perfect followed by -*ma* expresses an incidental action and the verb following this structure is also in the perfect. The Ethiopic languages that have a special form for the gerundive (G. Tna. Amh. Arg.) would use the gerundive for the perfect +*ma* of Harari. Zway, likewise, uses the perfect+*ma* for the expression of the gerundive.

Examples: *yā sa'a abba tāčēnäqa-ma aḥad märiňzo min yimāǧǝňāl bāyeu-ma tāḥērägeu* "then the father was distressed and asked for advice a friend of his saying: "what is better for me?", lit. "that time father was-distressed-and one his-friend what is-good-for-me he-said-to-him-and he-asked-him-for-advice"; *amūta āšulo-ma is tibōräda bāḥarlē* . . . "they made for him a mourning ceremony, and when it was finished . . .""; *mägǝla ḥāra-ma qālāčāč baḥ tāfēqära* "after having gone to the market he played with the children", lit. "market he-went-and children with he-played"; *gār-bē wāṭa-ma rōṭa* "having left the house he ran", lit. "house-of he-went-out-and he-ran". [1]

(*b*) Occasionally the perfect +*ma* expresses the resultative: *ḥulúf zāya yām zokǟbnēyu zämbilāč ṭoňňām annāru-ma täsbābäru* "the baskets that we have bought last year were not good, and, as a result of it, they broke".

For the element -*m* with the perfect, see *Gafat*, p. 100.

IMPERFECT

POSITIVE IMPERFECT

§ 11. Simple imperfect

(*a*) The radical of type A in the imperfect is -*čämq*-. The morphemes of the imperfect are:

Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*yi*---(*i*)	*yi*---*u*
3rd fem.	*ti*---(*i*)	
2nd masc.	*ti*---(*i*)	*ti*---*u*
2nd fem.	*ti*---*i*	
1st com.	*i*---(*i*)	*ni*---(*i*)

From *čmq*:

Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*yičämqi*	*yičämqu*
3rd fem.	*tičämqi*	
2nd masc.	*tičämqi*	*tičämqu*
2nd fem.	*tičämqi*	
1st com.	*ičämqi*	*ničämqi*

From verbs 1.2.2: *yikässi*.

[1] For more examples, see Cerulli, pp. 197 ff. See also E. Littmann, "Die Partikel - *ma* m Harari", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 33 (1921), 103-122.

From type B: *yišīmqi*.

From type C: *yimāgdi*.

From type D: *yŭbūrdi*. Note the vowel of the prefix *yŭ* (instead of *yi*) because of the following *ū* of the radical.

Radical of type A *ẓäm(ə)q*; the 2nd radical is simple as in all the South Ethiopic languages. In Tigrinya the 2nd radical is simple only in forms that end in a vowel (*tə-säbr-i*); it is geminated in forms ending in a consonant (*yəsäbbər*).

Radical of type B. The radical *šīm(ə)q*, with the vowel *ī(i)* after the 1st radical, occurs in W.Z. (*ẓirəs*); the vowel is *i* in Aymellel, but the 2nd radical is geminated (*šikkət*). The same form also occurs in certain verbs of W.Z. [1]

Radical of type C. The radical (*māgd*) is found in S.W.Z. (*mark*); in Č. and En. the 2nd radical is likewise simple, but it represents an original geminated consonant (p. 9, n. 3).

Radical of type D. The radical *būrəd* occurs in Zway. Note, however, that the Zway correspondent of the Harari perfect *bōrada* is *burädä*, with the vowel *u* after the 1st radical.

Prefixed and suffixed morphemes. The vowel *i* in parentheses is a euphonic vowel serving to disjoin the final consonant cluster (p. 13, n. 2). The vowel *i* of the prefixed morphemes occurs only in Harari. The other languages have the vowel *ə*. [2]

Singular, 3rd fem. A final *-i* also occurs in M. Go. A.

2nd fem. *t- - -i*, as in all the Ethiopic languages. For the effect of the final *-i* on the preceding consonant, see below.

Plural. For the 3rd and 2nd persons without distinction of masculine and feminine, see above § 5b.

3rd com. *yi- - -u*, like in G. Te. Tna. Amh. Arg. S.W.Z. (except for the vowel *ə* of the prefix *y* in these languages).

2nd com. *ti- - -u*; see above, 3rd com.

1st com. *ni- - -(i)*. G. and Tna. have *nə-*; the initial *nə-* occurs in Č. En. M. Go., but the suffixes are different.

For more details on the morphemes of the imperfect in the various Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, pp. 102, 103.

(*b*) The final *-i* of the singular, 2nd fem. causes the palatalization of a final dental, liquid, and sibilant (see also § 26b). Thus, *tilämǧi* from *lmd* "learn"; *tikäfči* from *kft* "open"; *tirägǧi*, from *rgt* "kick"; *tiläbši*, from *lbs* "dress"; *tinädyi*, from *ndl* "make a hole". [3]

(*c*) The palatalization can also affect the 1st or 2nd radical of the root if it is a dental, liquid or sibilant. Thus, *tišäbri* from *sbr* "break"; *tikäčbi*, from *ktb* "write"; *tičälfi*, from *ṭlf* "rob"; *tiqäǧmi*, from *qdm* "advance"; *tik̲äǧni*, from *k̲dn* "cover"; *tišäǧǧi* and *tisäǧǧi*, from *sgd* "prostrate"; *tiǧädyi*, *tigädyi* and *tigäǧyi*, from *gdl* "kill". See also § 25c, and Cohen, p. 284.

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[1] See *JAOS*, 71 (1951), 275, nn. 84, 85.

[2] For the vowel of the prefix Cerulli, p. 91, gives *e* (that is, *ə*) and *i*. He considers the pronunciation *i* for *ə* as being influenced by Sidamo and Galla.

[3] Cerulli, p. 91, gives the form *təgadli, tigadli*, without palatalizataion of *l*. There is no doubt, however, that *l* is palatalized into *y* in the 2nd person, fem. sg. of the imperfect, jussive, and imperative. The palatalization of *l* into *y* is correctly given by Cerulli, p. 102, for the imperfect *yōl* "he eats" of the verb *bäla'a*. Likewise, *n* of *amäna* "believe" is given in the palatalized form in *atimañi* "do not believe" in Cerulli, p. 117.

§ 12. Compound imperfect

(*a*) The forms of the compound imperfect are:

	Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*yisäbräl* ⎫		
3rd fem.	*tisäbrāt* ⎭		*yisäbrālu*
2nd masc.	*tisäbrāḵ* ⎫		
2nd fem.	*tisäbrāš* ⎭		*tisäbrāḵu*
1st com.	*isäbrāḵ*		*nisäbrāna*

From the verbs 1.2.2.: *yikässäl.*
From type B: *yišīmqāl.* [1]
From type C: *yimāgdāl.*
From type D: *yŭbūrdāl.*

(*b*) The compound imperfect is composed of the simple imperfect and of -*āl* coming from Har. *ḥal* "there is, he is". The *l* of *āl* is lost in all the forms in which it is in contact with a following consonant, that is to say, in all the forms except in the 3rd masc. singular, and in the 3rd com. plural. Thus, *tisäbrāt*, from *tisäbrālt(i)*; *tisäbrāḵ*, from *tisäbrālḵ(i)*, and so on. Note, however, that in the conjugation of *ḥal* "he is, there is", the *l* does not disappear; thus, sg. 3rd fem. *ḥalti*, 1st com. *ḥalḵu*, pl. 2nd com. *ḥalḵu*, and so on. [2]

(*c*) Note also that in the forms that have a vocalic ending in the simple imperfect (that is, sg. 2nd fem. -*i*, pl. 3rd com. -*u*, 2nd com. -*u*), the vocalic ending does not appear in the compound imperfect. [3] Thus, sg. 2nd fem. *tisäbr-āš* (as against *tisäbri* of the simple imperfect); pl. 3rd com. *yisäbrālu* (as against *yisäbru*); pl. 2nd com. *tisäbr-āḵu* (as against *tisäbru*). [4]

The "compound imperfect" for the expression of the present or future in the main clause is found in Amh. Arg. S.W.Z., except that in S.W. the suffixed element is -*an* (instead of -*al*). All the other Ethiopic languages use the "simple imperfect" for the same purpose. For more details, see *Gafat*, p. 102.

§ 13. Relative imperfect

(*a*) The forms of the relative imperfect are as follows:

	Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*yisäbriz̧āl* ⎫		
3rd fem.	*tisäbriz̧āt* ⎭		*yisäbruz̧ālu*

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[1] I did not record the imperfect *ešēmaqaḥ, tešēmaqaḥ* (that is, *əšēmaqāḵ, təšēmaqāḵ*) for the type B, as given in Cerulli, p. 98. These forms are undoubtedly imperfect forms of the reflexive — passive stem as the vowel *a* (*ä*) after the 2nd radical clearly proves (§ 30e) even though Cerulli did not record the gemination of *š*.

[2] The form *ḥal* becomes *al* when it is attached to another element; thus, *isal* "while he is", from *is-ḥal*; *ẓal* "he who is", from *ẓi-ḥal*. The form *ḥal* represents G. *ḥalläwä*, Amh. *allä*, and so on.

[3] The vocalic ending appears in the compound relative imperfect; see § 13b.

[4] See, however, Cohen, p. 281.

2nd masc.	*tisäbrizāk* ⎱	*tisäbruzāku*
2nd fem.	*tisäbrizāš* ⎰	
1st com.	*isäbrizāk*	*nisäbrizāna*

This form is composed of the simple imperfect (*yisäbri-*) followed by the relative element *z̧-* with the conjugated auxiliary *-āl*. See above, § 12b.

(*b*) Note that in the forms that have a vocalic ending in the simple imperfect (that is, sg. 2nd fem. *-i*, pl. 3rd com. *-u*, 2nd com. *-u*), the vocalic ending appears in the compound relative imperfect. Thus, sg. 2nd fem. *tisäbrizāš* (simple imperfect *tisäbri*), pl. 3rd com. *yisäbruzālu* (simple imperfect *yisäbru*), pl. 2nd com. *tisäbruzāku* (simple imperfect *tisäbru*). This was not the case in the compound mperfect (see above § 13a, c). The vowel *-i* of the other persons is euphonic.

Harari seems to be the only Ethiopic language in which the relative imperfect is expressed by a compound imperfect with the relative element (*z̧*) placed between the simple imperfect and the auxiliary (*al*). Amharic and Argobba, for instance, use the compound imperfect in the main positive clause, but the relative imperfect is expressed by the relative element *yämmə-* preceding the simple imperfect. Selti and Wolane use the compound imperfect for the relative imperfect (*yəsäbran säb* "the man who breaks"), but they have no special relative element. The only other language that probably has the same usage as Harari is Zway in which the compound imperfect is *yəkäflāl* and the relative imperfect is *yəkäflal*, with the vowel *a* (*-al**) as against the vowel *ä*(*-äl*). The ending *-al* of the relative imperfect comes perhaps from **yal < yä-al*, that is to say, with the disappearance of the relative element *y(ä)* known in Zway, and the contraction of *ä-a* into *a*. For more details on the relative perfect and imperfect, see *Gafat*, p. 65.

(*c*) Like the relative perfect (§ 7b), the relative imperfect in the plural can take the plural morpheme *-āč* of the noun, if there is no noun coming with the relative clause; thus, *yimāḥṭukzālāč* "those who hit you", that is *yimāḥṭukzāl* with the plural morpheme *-āč*.

MEANING AND USAGE OF THE POSITIVE IMPERFECT

§ 14. Simple imperfect

(*a*) The simple imperfect serves for the expression of the present or of the future in the subordinate clause; the subordinate clause is used mostly with conjunctions.

Examples: *aškärāč ilā bād yizärfu-lē dīğu* "the soldiers came to pillage the country", lit. "soldiers to country in-order-that-they-pillage they-came" (the simple imperfect *yizärfu* is used here with the conjunction *-lē*); *bāǧīḥ dīnät yinābrän-gir(a) yī bāqālu is-wāḳābko* "if I had much money I would have bought this mule", lit. "much money if-it-were-to-me this mule I-would-have-bought-it" (the simple imperfect *yinābr-än* "it is to me" is used here with the conjunction *gir*); *yī lāfu ilāwa yūdqi qēssi maḥaṭa* "hit that tree until it falls down", lit. "that tree until it-falls until hit-it"; *ḥarši-bē yigābi-wa anätewit* "as soon as he entered from the field he fell sick". [1]

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[1] For other examples, see Cerulli, p. 92.

For the conjunction -*s* with the compound imperfect, see § 16b.

(*b*) Occasionally the simple imperfect can be used in a subordinate clause without any conjunction: *tisṭuň iḵǎšäḵ* "I want you to give me", lit. "you-give-to-me I-want", *tisṭuň* being the simple imperfect without any conjunction.

(*c*) The simple imperfect is also used with -*ma* (see § 10): *yidīǧ amät-bē yīglu-ma inči yūqūčälu* "beginning next year they will cut the wood", lit. "it-will-come year-from they-will-begin-and wood they-will-cut". For the simple imperfect *yidīǧ*, see below, d. [1]

(*d*) The simple imperfect is also used in fixed expressions having the meaning of adverbs: *yidīǧ amät* "next year", lit. "it-will-come year"; *gīš ḫōǧi-bē yibäẕḫi magäle-be usuʾ yūḵūnälu* "tomorrow there will be more people at the market than today", lit. "tomorrow today-than it-is-numerous market-at people they-will-be", *yibäẕḫi* having the meaning of an adverb.

The situation is the same in Amharic: *yələq* "more", *yəbälṭ* "more", *yəššal* "better", *yanəs* "less", and others.

§ 15. Simple Imperfect + *nära*

(*a*) The simple imperfect followed by *när* (*nära*) expresses a continuous or a durative action in the past. The auxiliary *när*(*a*) is most often conjugated. Examples: *mältu duffún yilīṭ nära* "he was walking all day long"; *tikätbi närti* "she was writing, she used to write". [2]

(*b*) In the negation, the negative element is placed with *när*(*a*). Note also that the simple imperfect seems to have the suffixed morpheme -*m* of the negation. Examples: *yikätbum al-när* "he was not writing"; *yisäčum alnär yōlum alnär* "he was not drinking nor eating".

(*c*) In the relative clause, the relative element is placed with *nära*: *yikätbi ẕinära* "he who used to write, he who was writing".

(*d*) In the negative relative clause, the relative form of the negative imperfect (§ 21) is used followed by *ẕinär*(*a*): *ẕäykitäb ẕinär* "he who was not writing".

§ 16. Compound imperfect

(*a*) The compound imperfect serves for the expression of the present or of the future in the main clause.

Examples: *kullu ahli-m ištš yadīǧäl* "all the relatives bring butter", lit. "all relatives butter bring"; *ẕiḵǎški saʾa än-de madēǧa tifärkäḵ* "you can come to me any time you want", lit. "that-you-wanted time me-to to-come you-can"; *min tikǎšäḵ* "what do you want?"; *muṭṭäye aḵäḵ bah ilīṭäḵ* "I shall go alone with you"; *än ẕot idīǧäḵ* "I shall come myself"; *aḵäḵ ẕot mägala tůḫūräḵ* "you yourself will go to the market".

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[1] For more examples of the imperfect-*ma*, see Cerulli, p. 197.
[2] I did not record the complete conjugation of *yisägdi när*. The complete conjugation is found in Cohen, p. 278, and it appears that the ending of the imperfect is the same in all the persons and numbers. Thus, sg. 2nd fem. *təsägdi närši*, pl. 3rd com. *yisägdi näru*, 2nd com. *təsägdi närḵu*, and so on.

(*b*) The compound imperfect is also used with the conjunction -*s*- "while" placed between the simple imperfect and -*āl*; the imperfect can be followed or not by *qada*.

Examples: *yiqīrḥisāl* "while he guarded"; *fārāz-bē ilīṭ-s-āl qada wâdäqa* "he fell down while he was on his horse"; *yirūṭ-s-āl qada yūdqāl* "he will fall while he runs"; *yōlsāl* (or *yōlzāl*) *ilīṭāl* "he walks eating". [1]

§ 17. Relative imperfect

(*a*) The relative imperfect serves for the expression of the present or of the future in the relative clause.

Examples: *yī sirri yūqzāl aḥad usuʾu-m arriʾkum* "I have not seen anyone who would know this secret", lit. "this secret he-who-knows one man I-have-not-seen"; *läfu-bē yūrdizāl bissi busúl inta* "the fruit that falls from the tree is ripe", lit. "tree-from that-falls fruit ripe it-is"; *akāk intak ḥōği tidīğzāk* "it is you who will come today", lit. "you you-are today you-who-will-come"; *yī kullu šayīm mäññit yikätrizāl inta* "all this is something that prevents sleep", lit. "this all a-thing-indeed to-sleep that-prevents it-is"; *titfēqärbazāk awḥakoš abbäʸe zaṭ inta* "the ball with which you play belongs to my brother", lit. "that-you-play-with-it ball my-brother('s) property it-is".

(*b*) The relative imperfect occasionally serves for the expression of an adjective or a noun of profession: *yäqūmsizāl* "beautiful", lit. "he-who-is-beautiful"; *yūqzāl* "intelligent", lit. "he-who-knows"; *yilīṭzāl* "traveller", lit. "he-who-walks"; *yidälgizāl* "worker", lit. "he-who-works"; *yəbälṭizāl* "cunning", lit. "he-who-is-cunning".

The same procedure is used in Geez and in Gafat: thus, Geez *zäyəmäwwət* "mortal", lit. "he-who-dies"; Gafat *yəšʸəl* "intelligent", lit. "he-knows" (with the relative element *zero*).

NEGATIVE IMPERFECT

§ 18. Simple imperfect (*aysäbri*)

(*a*) The forms of the negative simple imperfect are:

	Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*aysäbri*	⎫	*aysäbru*
3rd fem.	*atsäbri*	⎬	
2nd masc.	*atsäbri*	⎫	*atsäbru*
2nd fem.	*atsäbri*	⎬	
1st com.	*ansäbri*		*ansäbri*

(*b*) The radical is the same as that of the positive imperfect: -*säbr*-. The prefixed and suffixed morphemes are likewise the same (see above), except that there is no vowel between the prefix and the 1st radical because the prefix is joined in pronunciation to the negative element (*ay-säbri* against the positive *y-i-säbri*,

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[1] For more examples, see Cerulli, p. 188.

at-säbri against the positive *t-i-säbri*, etc.). As for the negative element, it is probably the Semitic negation (')*al* found in the other Ethiopic languages. The element *l* is lost before the consonant prefixes *y* and *t*. For the 1st person, however, which begins in the positive with a vowel (*isäbri*), one would expect the preservation of the *l* (*alsäbri*) as is the case in the other Ethiopic languages. [1] The element *an-* causes difficulties.

(*c*) It should be stressed once more that the final *-i* in all the persons except in the sing. 2nd fem. is a euphonic vowel, and as such it has no influence on the preceding consonant. The vowel *-i* of the sing. 2nd fem. causes the palatalization of a preceding dental, liquid and sibilant, for which see § 11b, c.

For the meaning and usage of this form, see § 22.

§ 19. Compound imperfect (*yisäbrumēl*)

(*a*) The forms of the negative compound imperfect are:

Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*yisäbrumēl* [2]	
3rd fem.	*tisäbrumēt*	*yisäbrumēlu*
2nd masc.	*tisäbrumēḵ*	
2nd fem.	*tisäbrumēš*	*tisäbrumēḵu*
1st com.	*isäbrumēḵ*	*nisäbrumēna*

(*b*) The form is composed of the simple imperfect, of the negative element *-(u)m* (for which see § 6), and of the conjugated *-ēl* "he is not" that represents the negative form of *-āl* (see § 12b above). As is the case of *-āl*, the *l* of *-ēl* disappears before the consonant suffixes *-t*, *-ḵ*, *-š*, *-n*. The *l* does not disappear, however, in the auxiliary *-ēl(um)* "he is not" when it is independent without being combined with the imperfect; thus, sg. 3rd masc. *ēl-um*, fem. *ēltim*, 2nd masc. *ēlḵim*, fem. *ēlšim*, and so on.

(*c*) Concerning the rounded vowel *u* of *yisäbr-u-m-ēl* instead of the vowel *i* of the simple imperfect *yisäbr-i*, it is probably owing to the presence of the labial *m* that caused the rounding of the vowel preceding it.

For the meaning and usage of this form, see § 22.

§ 20. Form *aysibär*

(*a*) The forms of the negative imperfect *aysibär* are:

Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*aysibär-lē*	*aysibäru*
3rd fem.	*atsibär*	
2nd masc.	*atsibär*	*atsibäru*
2nd fem.	*atsibäri*	
1st com.	*ansibär*	*ansibär*

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[1] See *Gafat*, pp. 106, 107.
[2] In Cerulli's notation the vowel *ē* is diphthongized and the forms are: *igadlum-ieḥ*, *tegadlum-ieḥ*, and so on (*Harar*, p. 94).

For the negative element *a(l)*, see § 18b. The radical *sibär* is the one of the jussive (see § 24). The prefixed and suffixed morphemes are those of the imperfect and of the jussive.

For the meaning and usage of this form, see § 23.

§ 21. Form *z̧äysibär*

(*a*) The forms of the negative imperfect *z̧äysibär* are:

	Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*z̧äysibär*	⎫	*z̧äysibäru*
3rd fem.	*z̧ätsibär*	⎬	
2nd masc.	*z̧ätsibär*	⎫	*z̧ätsibäru*
2nd fem.	*z̧ätsibäri*	⎬	
1st com.	*z̧änsibär*		*z̧änsibär*

This form is composed of the prefixed relative element *z̧*, and of the negative imperfect in subordinate clause that is expressed by the negative jussive (see § 20, above).

For the meaning of this form, see § 23.

Harari is one of the few Ethiopic languages that makes a distinction between the main clause and the subordinate clause in the usage of the negative imperfect. The other languages that have two distinct forms for the negative imperfect are Aymellel, Selti, Wolane, Zway, and Gafat. The forms of the negative imperfect in these languages are as follows. In Aymellel, for the main clause, *tiqärs*; for the subordinate clause, *ayqärs*. In Selti, for the main clause, *əläsäbər*; for the subordinate clause, *aysäbər*. In Zway, for the main clause, *tidäbel*; for the subordinate clause, *aydäbəl*. In Gafat, for the main clause, *tifärk-am*; for the subordinate clause, *ayfärək*. As can be seen, all these languages use the same radical for both forms of the imperfect (*säbər*), the difference being expressed in the form of the negative element. Harari is the only language that uses two different radicals: the radical of the imperfect (*säbər*) for the main clause, and the radical of the jussive (*səbär*) for the subordinate clause. Since various Cushitic languages likewise use two different forms of the negative imperfect for the main clause and for the subordinate clause, we might suspect a Cushitic influence here (*Language*, 28 [1952], 75). See also *Gafat*, pp. 106, 107.

Meaning and usage of the negative imperfect

§ 22. The forms *aysäbri*, *yisäbrumēl*

(*a*) These two forms of the negative imperfect are used in the main clause. The meaning of the compound negative imperfect (*yisäbrumēl*) is clear. It is used for the expression of the present and future in the main negative clause. I did not obtain, however, any example that would illustrate the precise usage of the simple negative imperfect (*aysäbri*) and the difference in usage between the simple negative imperfect and the compound negative imperfect. The simple imperfect was obtained as a paradigm through direct questioning.

Examples for the negative compound imperfect are: *muṭṭiᵞe mōša ifärkumēk̲*

"I cannot do it alone", lit. "I-alone to-do I-cannot"; *yī ɀälta ḥadum uqūmēḵ* "I do not know anything else", lit. "this that-is-not anything I-do-not-know".

§ 23. The forms *aysibär*, *ɀäysibär*

(*a*) This form of the negative imperfect is used in the subordinate clause with conjunctions and in the relative clause.

Examples: *aysibär-lē* "that he may not break"; *im ayfiräk* "before he is able"; *ɀäywidäq-kut yifäräl* "he is afraid to fall", lit. "that-he-falls-not he-is-afraid"; *ɀäyələqämu-bē* "when they do not collect". [1]

Jussive and imperative

§ 24. Jussive

(*a*) The radical of the jussive and imperative for type A is *s(i)bär*; for type B, *šēmq*; for type C, *mägd*; for type D, *bōrd*.

(*b*) The prefixed and the suffixed morphemes of the jussive are the same as those of the imperfect except for the euphonic *-i* that is not used in the jussive, since the radical *s(i)bär*, without final consonant cluster, does not necessitate a euphonic vowel.

The 2nd person of the jussive is used only in the negative.

(*c*) The forms of the jussive of type A are:

Singular				Plural	
3rd masc.	*yäsbär* (positive)	}		*yäsbäru* [2]	
3rd fem.	*täsbär*	}			
2nd masc.	*atsibär* (negative)	}		*atsibäru* (negative)	
2nd fem.	*atšibäri*	}			
1st com.	*näsbär*			*näsbär*	

From verbs 1.2.2.: *yäksäs*.
Type B: *yäšēmqi*.
Type C: *yämägdi*.
Type D: *yäbōrdi*. Types B, C, and D have a euphonic vowel because of the final consonant cluster.

The vowel *ä* of the prefix (*yä-sbär*) also occurs in Č. M. Go. Ms. S.W.Z.; En. has *ä* coming from *yä-*.

The radical *s(i)bär* of type A is found in G. *ləbäs* of the class *läbsä*, in certain verbs of Č. En. M. Ms. Go., [3] and in the negative form of Aymellel. For more details, see *Gafat*, p. 108.

The radical *šēmq(i)* of the Harari type B also occurs in Z. *mezən*.

The radical *mägd(i)* of type C occurs in all the Ethiopic languages, except perhaps in Argobba where the form is *marrək* (with geminated 2nd radical).

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[1] Cohen, p. 285.
[2] For the 3rd pers. pl. Cerulli, p. 95, wrongly gives the form *yagdalo*, with *o*.
[3] *RSE*, 10 (1951), 85-98.

§ 25. Imperative

(*a*) The forms of the imperative of type A are:

	Singular	Plural
2nd masc.	*čimäq* ⎱	*čimäqu*
2nd fem.	*čimäqi* ⎰	

From verbs 1.2.2.: *kisäsi*.

Type B: *šēmqi*.

Type C: *mägdi*.

Type D: *bōrdi*. The -*i* of types B, C, and D of the 2nd masc. sg. is euphonic.

(*b*) The final vowel -*i* of the jussive and imperative of the 2nd person, fem. sg. causes the palatalization of a final dental, liquid, and sibilant (see § 11b).[1] Thus, *kifäči* from *kft* "open"; *zimägi*, from *zmd* "drag"; *rigäči*, from *rgt* "kick"; *nədäy*, from *ndl* "make a hole"; *kəfäy*, from *kfl* "pay"; *fətäñi*, from *ftn* "hurry"; *libäši*, from *lbs* "dress".

(*c*) The palatalization can also affect the 1st or 2nd radical of the root if it is a dental, liquid, or sibilant. In some instances, two radicals of the root can be palatalized. Thus, *ḵigäñi*, from *kdn* "cover"; *bičäši*, from *bts* "pull out"; *šigäbi* and *sigäbi*, from *sdb* "insult"; *kičäbi*, from *ktb* "write"; *goybi*, from *gōläba* "make a cover for the food basket"; *ǧiyägi*, *diyägi*, and *dilägi*, from *dlg* "work"; *čirägi*, from *trg* "sweep"; *šəḵäri*, from *sḵr* "be drunk"; *ǧiräqi*, from *drq* "be dry"; *sibäri* and *šibäri*, from *sbr* "break"; *čimägi* and *timägi*, from *tmd* "put the yoke"; *niḵäši* and *ñiḵäši*, from *nḵs* "bite"; *gədäyi* and *gəǧäyi*, from *gdl* "kill". See also § 11c.

§ 26. Meaning and usage of the jussive and imperative

(*a*) The imperative expresses an order. The jussive in the 1st and 3rd persons also expresses an order and/or an admonition; in the 2nd person (with the negative element) it expresses a defense or prohibition.

Examples: *muṭṭizo ḥidäga* "leave him alone"; *akäḵ na' alayzo yaqri* "you, come, and may the others remain"; *kulluziyum yädēgu* "may all of them come!"; *miḥräzo kut yänsa'* "let him take according to his work"; *atəsbär* "do not break".

Nominal forms
§ 27. Infinitive or verbal noun

(*a*) The form of the infinitive or verbal noun of type A is *mäsbär*.[2] It is formed with the prefixed element *mä*-, the radical of the verb being the same as the one of the jussive-imperative (§ 24a).[3]

The element *mä*- with the radical of the jussive-imperative for the expression of the infinitive also occurs in Amh. and in Argobba. For the other Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, p. 109.

[1] Cerulli, p. 95, gives the form *gedali*, without palatalization of *l*, but see p. 18, n. 3.
[2] I did not record the form *mäsqäla* mentioned in Cohen, p. 285.
[3] For the negative infinitive Cerulli, p. 96, gives the form *al-magdal*, that is, the negative *al-* known from other tenses.

The other types likewise have the prefix *mä-*, but the radical is not the same as the one of the jussive. The forms are: type B, *mäšēmäq* (the radical of the jussive is *šemq*); type C, *mämāgäd* (the radical of the jussive is *māgd*); type D, *mäbōräd*.

(*b*) This form expresses either the infinitive or the verbal noun ("the fact of . . ."). Examples for the infinitive: *bäqlä-bē ḥulúf mäḥēläq yifärkumēl* "he cannot count more than a hundred", lit. "hundred-from over to-count he-cannot"; *bäqlä usuʾ-bē ḥulúf yī gär mäbōʾa yitfärkumēl* "more than a hundred persons cannot enter into this house", lit. "hundred persons-from over this house to-enter it-cannot"; *mäktäb tūqazāk kutít mäqräʾum tūqāk* "you will know how to read as well as you know how to write", lit. "to-write that-you-will-know as-well to-read you-will-know" (in this sentence the forms *mäktäb* and *mäqräʾ* could also be translated as verbal nouns: "the writing, the reading"); *yī färäsu mōkab ifärkumēk* "I cannot buy this horse", lit. "this horse to-buy I-cannot".

Examples for the verbal noun: *aškäräč ilāwa bād mäzräf-lē dīǧu* "the soldiers came to the country for booty", lit. "soldiers to country pillage-for they-came"; *mäktäb-bē ḥal* "he was writing", lit. "the-fact-of-writing-in he-is". [1]

(*c*) The verbal noun followed by *käyfiya* "manner" is used for the expression of a noun of manner; thus, *mäktäb käyfiya* "the manner of writing"; *mätfēqär käyfiya* "the manner of playing".

(*d*) The verbal noun takes the suffixed pronouns like any other noun. The forms are:

	Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*mägdäl-zo* "his killing"		*mägdäl-ziyu*
3rd fem.	*mägdäl-za* "her killing"		
2nd masc.	*mägdäl-ka*		*mägdäl-ko*
2nd fem.	*mägdäl-käš*		
1st com.	*mägdäl-e*		*mägdäl-zina*

§ 28. Passive participle

(*a*) The form of the passive participle of type A is *subúr*, fem. *suburít*. From type B, *šumúq* (from *šemāqa*); from type C, *mugúd* (from *māgäda*); from type D, *qurúm* (from *qōräma*).

The same formation is regularly used in all the North Ethiopic languages. Harari is the only language in the South Ethiopic group that uses this form of the passive participle. [2]

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[1] For other examples, see Cerulli, p. 96.
[2] *JAOS*, 71 (1951), 219.

DERIVED STEMS

STEM WITHOUT PREFIXES

§ 29. Frequentative stem

(*a*) Harari, like all the spoken languages of Ethiopia, has a frequentative stem of the types A, B, C, and D. The formation of the stem consists in the repetition of the 2nd radical, the supplementary syllable having the vowel *ā*. The form of the types A, B, and C is the same: type A *gidādäla*, type B *šimāmäqa*, type C *migāgäda*. Type D has the form *qŭrāräma*, with the vowel *ŭ* as against the vowel *i* of the other types.

As in all the Ethiopic languages, the frequentative stem of Harari has the same syllabic structure as the quadriliteral, except for the second vowel (*ā*) that is characteristic of the frequentative stem. Indeed the form of the Harari quadriliteral is *gilābäṭa*. The 2nd radical of the Harari frequentative stem is simple, as is the case in the Eastern Gurage languages of S.W. and Zway. As for the vowel of the 1st radical, Harari is the only language that has the vowel *i*. In type D, the vowel of the 1st radical is *ŭ* going back to the vowel *ō* of the basic stem (*bōräda*). In the other Ethiopic languages, the vowel of the 1st radical is either *ə* or *ä*; see *Gafat*, p. 111.

(*b*) The forms of the frequentative stem are as follows:

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D
Perfect	*gidādäla*	*šimāmäqa*	*migāgäda*	*qŭrāräma*
Imperfect	*yigdādlāl*			*yŭqrārmāl*
Jussive	*yägdādli*			*yäqŭrārmi*
Imperative	*gidādli*			*qŭrārmi*
Infinitive	*mägdādäl*			

(*c*) The frequentative stem expresses an intensive, a repeated, or an attenuative action. Examples: *sibābära* "break to pieces", *šimāmäqa* "hide here and there", *migāgäda* "burn at the surface".

A verb in the frequentative without having the basic stem is *ḥibābäla* "deceive, entice".

(*d*) The frequentative with the prefix *tä-* can also express reciprocity (§ 31a). [1]

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[1] For the frequentative stem, see W. Leslau, "Le thème verbal fréquentatif dans les langues éthiopiennes", *Revue des études sémitiques* (1939), pp. 15-31. The information on the Harari frequentative is in disagreement with that given here.

STEMS WITH PREFIXES

§ 30. Reflexive-passive stem

(*a*) The stem with the morpheme *tä-* prefixed to the verb expresses the reflexive or passive of the basic stem. The morpheme *tä-* is added to the basis of the fundamental or basic stem. Thus, type A, *qäbära* "bury": *tä-qäbära* "be buried"; type B, *šēläma* "decorate": *tä-šēläma* "be decorated"; type C, *gāgära* "bake": *tä-gāgära* "be baked"; type D, *qōnäṭa* "pinch": *tä-qōnäṭa* "be pinched".

(*b*) As in all the Semitic and Ethiopic languages, the passive meaning of the *tä*-stem is not always evident from the translation into a Western language. Indeed we encounter here the problem of formal analysis versus translation. Thus, for instance, "lose" (*tärätaʾa*) in relation with "win" (*rätaʾa*) does not seem to have a passive meaning. However, its passive meaning becomes clear from the basic Ethiopic meaning of the verb. Indeed, *rätaʾa* means "vanquish, overpower, win", and *tärätaʾa* means "be overpowered, vanquished", that is, "lose". Another example would be "obey" (*täʾēmära*) in relation to "order, command" (*ēmära*). Indeed, *täʾēmära* means "be ordered, commanded, receive an order, be forced by an order" passing into the meaning of "obey". Or, "borrow" (*tälēqäḥa*) in relation to "lend" (*alēqäḥa*). The basic meaning lies in *alēqäḥa* "give a loan", that is "lend", whereas *tälēqäḥa* means "be given a loan", that is, "borrow".

(*c*) In other examples the verb in the *tä-* stem has an intransitive meaning in relation to the transitive meaning of the basic stem. Most often, however, the intransitive meaning can be derived from the passive value. Thus, for instance, *māgäda* "burn" (transitive), but *tämāgäda* "burn" (intransitive). The basic meaning of the fundamental stem is "burn", lit. "kindle", the *tä-* stem having the meaning of "be lit, kindled" > "burn" (intransitive). Likewise, *tämäla'a* "become full" in relation to *mäla'a* "fill" means originally "be filled" > "be full".

All the Ethiopic languages use the morpheme *tä-* for the reflexive-passive. Only Tigre uses the morpheme *tə-*, and in Arg. the *t* is assimilated to the 1st radical of the root (*ənnekkäsa*). Also, only Tigre and Argobba use the basis of type B even for verbs of type A (Te. *tə-käffäla*, Arg. *ənnekkäsa*). All the other languages add the morpheme *tä-* to the basis of the fundamental stem. See also *Gafat*, p. 113.

(*d*) The vowel of the morpheme *t* is *i* with the negative *al-*, and with the conjunction *is*: *al-tiqäbära* "he was not buried", *is-tiqäbära* "when he is buried". The morpheme *t* has no vowel if it is joined to a preceding syllable ending in a vowel. This is true of the relative element *ʒi-* or in the forms with prefixed morphemes. Thus, *ʒit-qäbära* "he who was buried", *yät-qäbäräl* "he is buried", *yät-qäbär* "may he be buried".

In the Gurage dialects the morpheme *t* has also the vowel *ə* with the negative *al* in *al-tə-käffälä* as against *ä* of the affirmative (*tä-käffälä*). The loss of the vowel of the morpheme *t* when it

is attached to the prefix of the imperfect is known from all the Ethiopic languages (*yət-käffäl*). See also *Gafat*, pp. 112-113.

(*e*) The forms of the *tä-* stem are as follows:

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Frequentative
Perfect	*täqäbära*	*täbēräqa*	*täfäqäda*	*täbōräda*	*täsbäbära*
Imperfect	*yitqäbär*	*yitbēräq*	*yitfäqäd*	*yitbōräd*	*yissibäbär*
Jussive	*yätqäbär*	*yätbēräq*	*yätfäqäd*	*yätbōräd*	*yässibäbär*
Imperative	*täqäbär*	*täbēräq*	*täfäqäd*	*täbōräd*	*tasbäbär*
Infinitive	*mätqäbär*	*mätbēräq*	*mätfäqäd*	*mätbōräd*	*mässibäbär*

(*f*) The morpheme *t* is totally assimilated to a following dental, sibilant, or affricate with which it is in contact. Thus, *yissēqäl*, for *yitsēqäl*, from *täsēqäla* "climb"; *yiššēläm*, for *yitšēläm*, from *täšēläma* "be decorated"; *yiddämäs*, for *yitdämäs*, from *tädämäsa* "be destroyed"; *ziččēkäla* "what is built", for *zitčēkäla*, from *täčēkäla*; *ziččämäq* "what is squeezed", for *zitčämäq*.

The morpheme *t* is partially assimilated to a following voiced: *yidgēbäl* "he sits", for *yitgēbäl*.

The situation is the same in G. Te. Gaf. Č. En. M. Ms. S.W. In Go. A. and Z. the assimilation is optional. In Tna. Amh. and Arg. the morpheme *t* is assimilated to any first radical.

(*g*) For the feminine imperative "be buried", one informant gave me the form *čäqäbär*, for *täqäbäri*; for "sit down" *čägēbäy* for *tägēbäli*. These examples show palatalization in distance (§ 11c, 25c). These forms, however, were not approved by another informant.

(*h*) From *tägēbäla* "sit down", I obtained the forms: compound imperfect, *yidgēbäläl* and *yidgēbäl*; jussive *yädgēbäl* and *yädgēb*; imperative, *tägēbäl* and *tägēb*; infinitive, *mädgēbäl* and *mädgēba*. In all these forms the final syllable *-äl* is omitted. [1]

(*i*) Like all the Ethiopic languages (see *Gafat*, p. 114), Harari has verbs that have no basic stem. The basic meaning is then expressed by the stem with *tä-*. The meanings of these verbs are varied: transitive, intransitive, neuter, and so on.

Type A: *tägäräda* "withdraw".

Type B: *täfēqära* "converse, play", *tägēbäla* "sit", *täkētäla* "follow", *tämēgäna* "take refuge against evil", *täqēbäla* "receive", *tärēgäza* "lean upon", *täsēqäla* "climb", *tätēnäba* "listen attentively".

Type C: *täfäqäda* "take care of, nurse", *täsäfära* "trade", *täbäläla* "hurry".

The causative of these verbs is formed mostly (and perhaps even mainly) with the *at-* stem (see § 33).

(*j*) For other verbs the basic meaning is expressed by the *a-* stem, and the *tä-* stem is a passive not of the basic stem, but of the *a-* stem. Examples: *tädämäsa* "be demolished", from *a-dämäsa* "demolish"; *tädägäna* "he bent", from *a-dägäna* "bend".

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[1] See also Cohen, p. 301.

§ 31. Reciprocal stem

(*a*) Reciprocity ("do something one against another"), and participation ("do something with one another") are expressed by the morpheme *tä-* prefixed either to the frequentative stem or to the basis of type C regardless of the original type of the verb, that is to say, whether it is of type A, B, C, or D.

(*b*) In the reciprocal the forms occur only in the plural. The forms are:

	From the basis of type C	From the basis of the frequentative
Perfect	*tägädälu*	*tägdädälu*
Imperfect	*yitgädälu*	*yitgidädälu*
Jussive	*yätgädälu*	*yätgidädälu*
Imperative	*tägädälu*	*tägdädälu*
Infinitive	*mätgädäl*	*mätgidädäl*

From type B: *täšälädu* "they shaved one another", *täbtätänu* "they dispersed one another".

From type C: *tämäräḵu* or *tämräräḵu* "they took one another prisoner".

From type D: *täqrärämu* "they hit one another with the knuckles".

Other examples: *tädäbäla* "participate" (from *däbäla* "add, join"), *tägädäla* "quarrel" (but *gädäla* "kill"), *täṭäbäqa* "be glued", that is "be stuck to one another" (from *ṭäbäqa* "be tight"), *tägäfära* "be separated" (from *gäfära* "let go"), *täqäbäṭu* "disagree" (from *qäbäṭa* "lack, miss").

(*c*) In other verbs of this type the reciprocal meaning is not evident. This is true of *täṭäläfa* "lay hold of" (in connection with *ṭäläfa* "rob"), an active meaning rather than reciprocal. Likewise the verb *täqäbäṭa* "disappear" (from *qäbäṭa* "lack, miss") does not show a clear meaning of reciprocity unless the reciprocity is to be understood as the disappearance of one object or person from the view of another object or person.

Stem with *a-*

§ 32. Causative

(*a*) The stem with the prefixed morpheme *a-* serves for the expression of the causative. Thus, *bäsäla* "be ripe": *a-bäsäla* "cook", that is, "make ripe"; *bäqäla* "grow": *a-bäqäla* "plant, make grow"; *qōrära* "be near": *a-qōrära* "bring near"; *gōdära* "be long": *a-gōdära* "lengthen".

The morpheme *a-* is prefixed to the basis of the type of the fundamental stem. Thus, type A, *fätäla* "spin": *a-fätäla*; type B, *rēḥasa* "be wet": *arēḥasa* "dough", lit. "to wet"; *bēräna* "be bright": *abēräna* "illuminate"; *bōräda* "arrive": *a-bōräda*.

The addition of the morpheme *a-* to the basis of the fundamental stem in type A for the formation of the causative is known in all the South Ethiopic languages. Thus, Gafat *lättämä* "arrive": *a-lättämä* "cause to arrive"; Chaha *bäsärä-m* "be ripe": *a-bäsärä-m* "cook". Geez,

Te., and Tna. have the causative *ʾa-sbärä* regardless of the basis of type A. Thus, G. *nägärä* and *läbsä*, Tna. *säbärä*, and Te. *säbra*, all have the causative *ʾa-sbärä* (Te. *ʾasbära*). For *ʾasbärä* in the negative causative of certain South Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, p. 114.

In types B and C, all the Ethiopic languages add the morpheme *a-* to the basis of the original type.

(*b*) The causative is also formed with the prefixed morpheme *at-* (§ 33). From the recorded examples with *a-* and *at-* it would seem that the *a-* stem is formed from intransitive verbs, whereas the *at-* stem is formed from transitive and active verbs.

(*c*) The forms of the causative are as follows:

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D
Perfect	*agäbära*	*ačēräqa*	*adāmāsa*	*aqōfäla*
Simple imperfect	*yagäbri*	*yačīrqi*	*yadāmsi*	*yaqūfli*
Compound imperfect	*yagäbrāl*	*yačīrqāl*	*yadāmsāl*	*yaqūflāl*
Jussive	*yagbir*	*yačērqi*	*yadāmsi*	*yaqōfli*
Imperative	*agbir*	*ačērqi*	*adāmsi*	*aqōfli*
Infinitive	*magbär* [1]	*mačēräq*	*madāmäs*	*maqōfäl*

The vowel of the prefix of the imperfect also sounds like *ä*.

The vowel *ä* or *a* of the prefix reminds one of the vowel *ä* or *a* of the imperfect-prefix in Tigrinya: *yäsəbbər* or *yasəbbər*. [2]

d) The causative of the frequentative stem seems to be formed mostly with the prefix *at-*. The forms of the *a-* stem are the following: perf. *absāsäla*, imperfect *yabsāslāl*, jussive *yabsāsli*, imperative *absāsli*, infinitive *mabsāsäl*.

From the verbs 1.2.2. Type A: perfect *anädäda*, imperfect *yanäddāl*, jussive *yandid*, imperative *andid*, infinitive *mandäd*.

Type C: perfect *aqānāna*, imperfect *yaqānnāl*, jussive *yaqānni*, imperative *aqānni*, infinitive *maqānän*.

Type A. The 2nd radical is simple in all the South Ethiopic languages. For the North Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, p. 115.

Type B. The vowel *i* of the 1st radical of the imperfect likewise occurs in A. *yalizzäb* and Z. *yačirq*. Note, however, that in A. the 2nd radical is geminated, whereas in Z. it is simple, as is the case in Harari.

The vowel *ē* of the 1st radical of the jussive is also found in Zway.

Type D. The vowels *ū(u)* of the 1st radical in the imperfect, and *ō(o)* in the jussive are the same as in Zway: imperf. *yagudrəna*, jussive *yagodüru*.

(*e*) Like all the Ethiopic languages, [3] Harari has verbs that have no fundamental stem. The basic meaning is then expressed by the stem with *a-*. The meanings of these verbs are varied: transitive, active, neuter, and so on.

Type A: *abäsära* "desecrate, make profane", *agäbära* "tame", *amäläṭa* "escape",

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[1] Cerulli, p. 121, gives the form *mäṭlal*, with *ā*.
[2] W. Leslau, *Documents Tigrigna*, p. 102.
[3] See *Gafat*, p. 115.

amäsära "bake, pour the dough into the cooking plate", *anädäda* "keep up the fire", *anätäfa* "spread", *aräfäda* "be late", *aṭäläla* "filter".

Type B: *ačēräqa* "strangle", *asēnäna* "talk" (probably a denominative of *sinän* "language, voice, word"). [1]

Type C: *adāgäna* "bend", *adāmäsa* "demolish", *agäläba* "roast" (also *gäläb āša* "heat slightly"), *agāräda* "observe attentively, keenly", *aqābäda* "hand over", *aẓäläla* "make turn in round (stone), rotate" (perhaps in connection with *ẓäläla* "jump").

Type D: *adōgäna* "bend", *afōrära* "throw", *agōbära* "become full (moon)", *aḵōfära* and *akōfära* "snore", *amōläsa* "become soft", *aqōfäla* "lock", [2] *aqōmäsa* "be beautiful".

The passive meaning of the transitive verbs of this class is formed with the morpheme *tä-* (§ 30). Their causative meaning is expressed by the morpheme *at-* (§ 33).

Stem with *at-*

The stem with the prefixed morpheme *at-* expresses either the causative or the causative of the reciprocal or the adjutative. [3] The radical of the verb is different for each of these expressions.

§ 33. Causative

(*a*) The stem with *at-* expresses the causative. From the recorded examples it would seem that *at-* serves mostly for the causative of the active and transitive verbs as well as of the verbs that occur in the *tä-*stem only without having a fundamental stem (§ 30i).

(*b*) In the verbs of type A and B, the prefix *at-* is added to the basis of type B regardless of the original type. Thus, *atqēbära* "cause to bury", from *qäbära* "bury" (type A); *atrēḵäba* "hand over", lit. "make find", from *räḵäba* "find" (type A); *atnēsaʾa* "give the daughter in marriage", probably a causative of *näsaʾa* "marry" (type A); from an intransitive verb: *atmēsäla* "imitate", lit. "cause to be alike", from *mäsäla* "be alike" (type A); *atfēdäga* "cause to grind coarsely", from *fēdäga* "grind coarsely" (type B); *atrēgäẓa* "make to lean upon", from *tärēgäẓa* "lean upon" (type B); *aččēnäqa* "oppress, bother", for which I did not record any other stem.

In the verbs of type C, the morpheme *at-* is added either to the basis of type B or type C. [4] Thus, *atmēgäda* and *atmāgäda* "cause to burn", from *mägäda* "burn" (transitive); *atqānäna* "cause to stand", from *qänäna* "stand".

In the verbs of type D, the prefix *at-* is added to the basis of the original type; thus, *atbōräda* "cause to be finished", from *täbōräda* "be finished".

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[1] The forms given in Cohen, p. 300, are confused.
[2] Cerulli, p. 99, gives *qōfala*, imperf. *iqulfäl* (with metathesis).
[3] This form also seems to express the factitive ("make someone do something through the intermediary of another person"), but I did not record any definite examples.
[4] Cerulli, p. 123, gives only the form *atmāgada* for the type C.

The morpheme *at-* is used in all the Ethiopic languages except in Geez and Argobba. Wherever the morpheme *at-* exists it is added to the basis of type B, except in Chaha where I recorded the morpheme *at-* also with the basis of type A. For more details, see *Gafat*, p. 116.

(*c*) The element *t* is totally assimilated to a following sibilant, dental, and affricate, and partly assimilated to a following voiced sound. Thus, *assārāra* "graft", for *at-sārāra*; [1] *addālāḫa* "throw stones repeatedly", for *at-dālāḫa*; *aččēnāqa* "oppress", for *atčēnāqa*; *adgēbāla* "cause to sit down", for *at-gēbāla*.

The situation is the same as for the element *t* of the morpheme *tä-*; see § 30f.

(*a*) The forms are the following:

	For types A, B, C	Type C	Type D
Perfect	*atqēbāra*	*atmāgāda*	*atbōrāda*
Simple imperfect	*yätqĭbri*	*yätmāgdi*	*yätbŭrdi*
Compound imperfect	*yätqĭbrāl*	*yätmāgdāl*	*yätbŭrdāl*
Jussive	*yätqēbri*	*yätmāgdi*	*yätbōrdi*
Imperative	*atqēbri*	*atmāgdi*	*atbōrdi*
Infinitive	*mätqēbār*	*mätmāgād*	*mätbōrād*

The vowel *ĭ(i)* of the imperfect also occurs in A. *yaššikkǝtu*, Gaf. *yatkimmǝr*, and Z. *yatmizǝna*, except that in A. and Gaf. the 2nd radical is geminated, whereas it is simple in Z. and in Harari. The vowel *ē(e)* of the jussive and imperative is found in Z. *yatmezǝna*.

§ 34. Causative of the reciprocal

(*a*) The morpheme *at-* added to the basis of the type C or of the frequentative stem, regardless of the original type of the verb, serves for the expression of the causative of the reciprocal ("cause to do something one against the other" or "with one another"). Thus, *atkāsāsa* and *atkisāsāsa* "cause to accuse one another", from *kāsāsa* "accuse" (type A); *atbātāna* or *atbitātāna* "cause to disperse one another", from *bētāna* "disperse" (type B); *atmārāḵa* or *atmirārāḵa* "cause to take one another prisoner", from *mārāḵa* "take prisoner" (type C); *atqŭrārāma* "cause to hit one another with the knuckles", from *qōrāma* "hit with the knuckles" (type D); *atkāḫala* "reconcile", that is, "cause to be reconciled with one another". The form *assārāra* "graft" (from *atsārāra*) is probably in connection with *sārāra* "climb", and would mean "make one part climb on another" (see also § 33*c*).

All the Ethiopic languages (except G. and Arg.) express the causative of the reciprocal in the same way.

(*b*) The forms are as follows:

	Types A, B, C		Type D
Perfect	*atmārāḵa* or	*atmirārāḵa*	*atqŭrārāma*
Simple imperfect	*yätmārḵi*	*yätmirārḵi*	*yätqŭrārmi*
Compound imperfect	*yätmārḵāl*	*yätmirārḵāl*	*yätqŭrārmāl*

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[1] Cohen, p. 299, gives various forms for this verb for which I find no explanation.

Jussive	*yätmär̲ki*	*yätmirär̲ki*	*yätqŭrärmi*
Imperative	*atmär̲ki*	*atmirär̲ki*	*atqŭrärmi*
Infinitive	*mätmärä̲k*		

The vocalic structure of the imperfect and jussive is the same in all the Ethiopic languages. The 2nd radical of the Harari imperfect is simple as is true in S.W.Z., and Tigrinya; in the other languages the 2nd radical is geminated. The 2nd radical of the jussive is simple in all the Ethiopic languages.

§ 35. Adjutative

(*a*) The morpheme *at-* added to the basis of type C, regardless of the original type of the verb serves for the expression of the adjutative ("help someone to do something"). Examples: *atḫäräsa* "help to plough", from *ḫaräsa* "plough" (type A); *assäbära* "help to break", from *säbära* "break" (type A); *atwäläda* "breed, raise animals", originally "help or cause to give birth", from *wäläda* "give birth" (type A); *atḫäläqa* "help to count", from *ḫēläqa* "count" (type B); *atqäṭära* "help to tie", from *qäṭära* "tie" (type C).

The forms are as follows:

Perfect	*atqäṭära*
Simple imperfect	*yätqäṭri*
Compound imperfect	*yätqäṭräl*
Jussive	*yätqäṭri*
Imperative	*atqäṭri*
Infinitive	*mätqäṭär*

(*b*) I recorded a few verbs with the prefix *at-* added to the basis of type C without the fundamental stem. Therefore, it is difficult to know the original meaning of these verbs and to have a correct judgment on the meaning of the *at-* stem. These verbs are: *atbädäḥa* "mix two liquids in two different cups", *addäbäqa* "fill a utensil by immersing it". In the verb *addäläḥa* 'throw stones repeatedly", type C indicates a repeated action, a meaning that is expressed in Tigre regularly by type C.[1]

STEM WITH *tän-*, *an-*

§ 36. Meaning and usage of *tän-*, *an-*

(*a*) Harari also has the prefixes *tän-* and *an-*. These prefixes are no longer productive and therefore cannot be added automatically to the basic stem of the verb. As a matter of fact, the verbs that have these prefixes are never used alone in Harari. Also no special meaning is attached to the prefixes *an-* and *tän-* except that *tän-* serves to form a passive or an intransitive from the verb with the *an-* stem. In the recorded examples these prefixes occur only in the verbs 1.2.2. of the type D and in a verb 1.1.2. The verbs are: *andōläla* "roll" (transitive), *angōläla* "sift", *anqōrära* "expect, wait", *anqäqaḥa* "cackle".

[1] *JAOS*, 68 (1948), 132.

As was said above, the passive or intransitive meaning of these verbs is obtained by the prefix *tän-*. Thus, *tängōläla* "be sifted", *tändōläla* "roll" (intransitive).

For the prefix *ən-*, *tän-*, *an-* in Ethiopic, see *Gafat*, p. 144; M. Cohen, in *Mémoires de l'Institut Français*, 56 (Le Caire, 1935), 715-719; *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 256-271; S. Grébaut, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, 2 (1935), 17-18; *Aethiopica*, 3 (1935), 115-117; W. Leslau, *JAOS*, 63 (1943), 11.

(*b*) The forms are as follows:

Perfect	*anqōrära*	*anqāqaḥa*	*tändōläla*	
Simple imperfect	*yanqŭrri*	*yanqāqḥi*	*yindōläli* or	*yiddōläl*
Compound imperfect	*yanqŭrrāl*	*yanqāqḥāl*	*yindōlälāl* or	*yiddōlälāl*
Jussive	*yänqōrri*	*yänqāqḥi*	*yändōläl* or	*yäddōläl*
Imperative	*anqōrri*	*anqāqḥi*	*tändōläl* or	*tädōläl*
Infinitive	*manqōrär*	*manqāqaḥ*		

SPECIAL VERBAL CLASSES

TRILITERALS

In the class of the triliteral verbs there are verbs with special radicals that require particular attention. These radicals are: *w* as 1st radical (*wåqåṭa*, § 37), ʾ as 2nd radical (*la'aka*, § 39), ʾ as 3rd radical (*nāsa'a*, § 40), *ḥ* as 1st radical (*ḥadāga*, § 41), *ḫ* as 2nd radical (*lāḥasa*, § 42), *ḫ* as 3rd radical (*bāzaḫa*, § 43). Originally triliteral verbs are also those that begin with a vowel (*agāda*) that goes back to an original ʾ or ʿ (§ 38).

§ 37. Class *wåqåṭa*

(*a*) There is a series of triliteral verbs where the 1st radical is *w*. On the whole they are treated like the regular triliteral verbs with the exception of some contractions occurring in syllables containing the semi-vowel *w*.[1] The vowel following the *w* is a rounded *å*.

(*b*) The verbs of this class are:

Type A: *wådäda* "love", *wådäla* "be fat, stout", *wådäqa* "fall", *wåḥaṭa* "swallow" (*tä-wåḥaṭa* "drown", lit. "be swallowed"), *wåḳäba* "buy", *wåläda* "give birth", *wåqära* "engrave", *wåqåṭa* "crush, thresh", *wåräda* "go down", *wåräsa* "inherit", *wåsäda* "take", *wåsäḳa* "be dirty", *wåṭa'a* "go out".
With prefixed *a-* only: *a-wåza'a* "perspire".
Type B: *wētäfa* "block up".
Type C: *wåläla* "turn around, roam about".

(*c*) The occasional contractions occurring in the conjugation are:
iwä > *ū*: *yiwärsäl* and *yūrsäl* "he inherits";
iwä > *ō*: in *ziwädäqa* beside *zōdäqa* "he who fell";[2]
awå > *ā* in certain verbs only: *ādäqa* "cause to fall", for *awådäqa*; *āräda* "place, put", for *awåräda*; *āsäda* "transport", for *awåsäda*; *āča* "take off", for *awåṭa'a*.

Contractions of syllables in which the semivowel *w* is involved occur in most of the Ethiopic languages. For Tigrinya taken as an illustration, see W. Leslau, *Documents Tigrigna*, pp. 116-117.

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[1] The triliteral verbs with the 2nd radical *w* are treated like the regular verbs and are, therefore, not classified apart.
[2] Cerulli, p. 105, gives the form *ziyōdäqa*: *ziyōqnabieu šay* "la cosa che noi comprammo" (probably misprint for *ziyōqbanieu, ziyōḳbanieu*, from *wåḳäba* "buy").

37

(*d*) The forms are as follows:

Basic stem	Type A			Type B	Type C
Perfect	*wáqáṭa*			*wētäfa*	*wāläla*
Imperfect	*yūqṭāl*	or	*yiwäqṭāl*	*yiwītfāl*	*yiwāllāl*
Jussive	*yäwqäṭ*			*yäwētfi*	*yäwālli*
Imperative	*wiqäṭ*			*wētfi*	*wālli*
Infinitive	*mäwqäṭ* [1]			*mäwētäf*	

Note in the imperfect the form *yiwäqṭāl* and *yūqṭāl* contracted from *yiwäqṭāl*. From verbs 1.2.2., such as *wádäda* "love", the imperfect is *yūddāl*. [2]

(*e*) The verb *wáṭa'a* "go out", is conjugated as follows:

Perfect	*wáṭa'a*
Imperfect	*yūč̣(i)* [3]
Compound imperfect	*yūč̣āl*
Jussive	*yäwṭa'*
Imperative	*wiṭa'*
Infinitive	*mäwṭa'*

The palatalization of *ṭ* into *č̣* is probably to be explained through the form **yǝwäṭǝ'* becoming **yǝwäṭǝ* with *ṭ > č̣* because of the following vowel *ǝ*.

(*f*) Stem with *tä-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*täwáqäṭa*	*täwētäfa*
Imperfect	*yitwáqäṭāl*	*yitwētäfāl*
Jussive	*yätwáqäṭ*	*yätwētäf*
Imperative	*täwáqäṭ*	*täwētäf*
Infinitive	*mätwáqäṭ*	*mätwētäf*

Note the verb *täwáḥaṭa* "drown", lit. "be swallowed", passive of *wáḥaṭa* "swallow".

(*g*) Stem with *a-*

	Type A	
Perfect	*awásäḵa*	"cause to be dirty", *awádäla* "fatten"
Imperfect	*yäwásḵāl*	
Jussive	*yäwsǝḵ*	
Imperative	*awsǝḵ*	
Infinitive	*mäwsäḵ*	

A verb that occurs in the *a-* stem only is *awáza'a* "perspire".

(*h*) In the verbs *wádäqa* "fall", *wárädä* "go down", *wásädä* "take", and *wáṭa'a* "go out", the causative forms **awádäqa*, **awárädä*, **awásädä*, and **awáṭa'a* are

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[1] Cerulli, p. 106, gives for the jussive the form *yōrad*; for the imperative *wurad* and *ūrad*; for the infinitive, *mawdaq* and *mōdaq*.

[2] Cerulli, p. 100, gives the forms: *ewuddāḥ* "I love", *uddumieḥ* (that is, *uddumēḵ*) "I do not love", and *üddumieḥ* (p. 105).

[3] The palatalization of *ṭ* of *wáṭa'a* into *č̣* in the imperfect *yūč̣āl* is independent of the word *ḥači* (*ḥäči*) preceding *yūč̣āl* as suggested by Cohen in connection with a sentence cited by Cerulli, p. 116.

contracted into *ādäqa* "cause to fall, throw to the ground", *ärāda* "place, put, purge", *āsäda* "transport", and *āča* "take off" (for the prepalatal *č*, see above). The contraction occurred in those verbs most probably because of their frequent use in the language.

(*i*) The forms are:

Perfect	*ärāda*	*āsäda*	*āča*
Simple imperfect	*yärdi*	*yästi*	*yāč(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yärdāl*	*yästāl*	*yāčāl*
Jussive	*yūrdi*	*yūsti*	*yūč*
Imperative	*ūrdi*	*ūsti*	*ūč*
Infinitive	*mōräd*	*mōsäd*	*mōča*

The imperfect of *ärāda* is also *ya'ardi* as if the verb were of the class *agäda* (§ 38d).

The forms *yästi*, *yūsti*, *ūsti* from *āsäda*, arose from *yäsdi*, *yūsdi*, with assimilation of the voiced *d* to the voiceless *s*.

The difference in the vowels of the jussive-imperative and infinitive, namely *ū* in the jussive-imperative (*yūrdi*, *ūrdi*) and *ō* in the infinitive (*mōräd*) presents difficulties, since both these forms go back to the same original vocalic structure. Indeed, the jussive of the *a*- stem is *yäwsǝk*, the infinitive is *mäwsäk*, both having the syllable -*äw*-. If we have to transpose these forms to *wrd*, we would have *yäwrǝd for the jussive, and *mäwräd for the infinitive. One would, therefore, expect the contraction of -*äw*- into the same vowel, either *ū* or *ō*. Actually, the vowels are different in the jussive-imperative (*yūrdi*, *ūrdi*) and in the infinitive (*mōräd*). The reason for this difference is not clear.

For the vowel *ū* of the jussive-imperative (*yūrdi*, *ūrdi*), and for the vowel *ō* of the infinitive (*mōräd*), cf. the treatment of verbs such as *āša* "do" (§ 45g) and *āqa* "know" (§ 45i), both with *ā* in the perfect as is the case in *ärāda*, *āča*. See also *ara'a*, § 48c.

(*j*) Stem with *at-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*atwēqāṭa*	*atwētäfa*
Imperfect	*yätwīqṭāl*	*yätwītfāl*
Jussive	*yätwēqṭi*	*yätwētfi*
Imperative	*atwēqṭi*	*atwētfi*
Infinitive	*mätwēqāṭ*	*mätwētäf*

A verb with *at-* having the adjutative meaning is probably *atwäläda* "breed, raise animals", originally "help to give birth".

From the verbs of the type *ādäqa* in the causative (see above), the forms with *at-* are:

Perfect	*atēdāqa*, *atērāda*
Imperfect	*yatīdqāl*, *yatīrdāl*

Jussive   *yatēdqi, yatērdi*
Imperative   *atēdqi, atērdi*

The forms of *āč̣a* with the morpheme *at-* are:
Perfect   *attēč̣a*
Imperfect   *yattīč̣āl*
Jussive   *yättēč̣·*
Infinitive   *attēč̣*
Imperative   *mättēč̣a*

Note the geminated *t* if my recording is exact. For the geminated *t*, see also *attēwāqa* "inform someone through someone else" (§ 45i).

(*k*) Frequentative
Type A: *wiqāqäṭa*.
Fom *wäṭaʾa*: *ič̣āč̣a*. This root has also a form *ač̣āč̣a* "hatch".
    Reciprocal
Perfect: *täwādädu* or *täwdādädu*.
    Causative of reciprocal
Perfect: *atwādäda*.

§ 38. Class *agäda*

(*a*) This is a class of verbs beginning with a vowel and having two consonants. In the verbs of type A, the initial vowel is *a*, the form being *agäda*. In the verbs of type B, the initial vowel is *ē*, the form being *ēmäda* (§ 38c). I did not record any verb of type C nor of type D in this verbal class. Concerning the lack of type C, one might attribute it to the fact that there is no initial *ā* in Harari, a vocalic initial that would be characteristic of type C. We saw, however, above in the verbs *āräda* and *ādäqa* that an initial *ā* exists in Harari.

(*b*) The verbs of this class go back to verbs with an original glottal stop ʾ or ʿ. Indeed, an initial ʾ or ʿ became *zero* in Harari and only the vowel of the original ʾ or ʿ remained. It must be noted, however, that not all the Harari verbs of this class have an etymological correspondence in the Ethiopic languages that possess the consonants ʾ or ʿ, that is, Geez, Tigre, and Tigrinya, and it is, therefore, difficult to know whether the initial consonant of these verbs was ʾ or ʿ.

The glottal stop ʾ (representing both an original ʾ or ʿ) appears occasionally in intervocalic position or medially before a vowel; thus, *yāgdāl* or *yäʾagdāl* "he binds", *yitägädāl* or *yitʾagädāl* "it is bound".

(*c*) Type A. Verbs going back to an original initial ʾ are: *amäna* "rely on" (G. አመነ *ʾamnä* "believe"), *anäsa* "be less" (G. ነአሰ *nəʾäsä*, Te. *näʾaša*, Amh. *annäsä*).

Verbs going back to an original initial ʿ: *agäda* "tie, bind" (G. ዐቀደ *ʿaqädä*), *aṭäna* "perfume" (G. ዐጠነ *ʿaṭänä*), *aṭäqa* "set free" (G. ዐጠቀ *ʿaṭäqä*).

Verbs without any correspondence in Proto-Ethiopic: *abäla* "refuse", *asäla* "climb, go up".

Type B. A verb going back to an initial ᵓ: *ēmära* "command" (G. ኣ^ᵐረ *ᵓammärä* "indicate").

A verb going back to an original ʿ: *ēqäba* "wait" (G. ዐቀበ *ʿaqäbä* "guard").

Verbs having no correspondence in Proto-Ethiopic: *ēgäla* "begin", *ēmäda* "tell", *ēsäba* "put in, bring in".

Initial ᵓ and ʿ became *zero* in Amh. Gaf. and Gurage. In Ennemor, initial ᵓ and ʿ became *zero*, but in intervocalic position these consonants appear as ᵓ; thus, *anäsä* "be small", but imperf. *yaᵓanəs*. In Argobba, initial ᵓ became *zero* or *h* according to the dialect; initial ʿ became *h*. For the other languages, see *Gafat*, p. 118.

(*d*) The conjugation is as follows:

Basic stem

	Type A		Type B
Perfect	*agäda*		*ēmäda*
Simple imperfect	*yāgdi*	or *yä'agdi*	*yīmdi*
Compound imperfect	*yāgdāl*	or *yä'agdāl*	*yīmdāl*
Jussive	*yāgäd*		*yēmdi*
Imperative	*igäd*		*ēmdi*
Infinitive	*mägäd*		*mēmäd*

The relative pronoun with the perfect is either *zi-* (§ 7a) or *z-* with elision of its vowel before the initial vowel of the verb. The forms are: type A, *zi-agäda* or *zāgäda*; type B, *zi-ēgäla* or *zēgäla*.

In intervocalic position in the imperfect, a glottal stop can appear (*yāgdi* or *yä'agdi*) representing an initial ᵓ or ʿ.

The vowel *ä* of the prefix in the jussive also occurs in Č. En. M. Go. and Masqan. In the other languages the vowel is *ə* (see *Gafat*, p. 118).

The vowel of the imperative is *i* (*ə*) like in Gaf. S.W.Z. and Amharic.

(*e*) Stem with *tä-*

	Type A		Type B
Perfect	*tägäda*	or *tä'agäda*	*tä'ēmära*
Simple imperfect	*yitägädi*	or *yit'agädi*	*yitēmäri*
Compound imperfect	*yitägädāl*	or *yit'agädāl*	*yitēmäräl*
Jussive	*yätägäd*	or *yät'agäd*	*yätēmär*
Imperative	*ta'agäd*		*tä'ēmär*
Infinitive	*mätägäd*	or *mät'agäd*	*mätēmär*

(*f*) Stem with *a-*

The verbs with initial *a* do not have the stem with *a-* for the expression of the causative. Indeed, since these verbs begin with *a*, a vowel characteristic of the *a-* stem, there would be no formal distinction between the basic stem (*agäda*) and the *a-* stem, both having an initial *a*. The causative is, therefore, formed with the morpheme *at-*.

(*g*) Stem with *at-*
The forms are:

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*atēgäda*	*atēmära*
Simple imperfect	*yätīgdi*	*yätīmri*
Compound imperfect	*yätīgdāl*	*yätīmrāl*
Jussive	*yätēgdi*	*yätēmri*
Imperative	*atēgdi*	*atēmri*
Infinitive	*mätēgäd*	*mätēmär*

The forms of type A and B in the *at-* stem are the same (§ 33b, d).

The vowel *ī(i)* after the prefix *yät-* of the imperfect also occurs in Gaf. and Zway.
The vowel *ē(e)* of the jussive-imperative is found in Zway.

(*h*) Frequentative
Basic stem

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*igāgäda*	*imāmäda*
Imperfect	*yigāgdāl*	
Jussive	*yägāgdi*	
Imperative	*igāgdi*	
Infinitive	*mägāgäd*	

Stem with *tä-*. Type A: *tägāgäda* or *tä'igāgäda*. Type B: *tä'imāmäda* (and probably also *tämāmäda*).

Stem with *at-*. Type A: *atigāgäda*. Type B: *atimāmäda*.

(*i*) Reciprocal stem

	Type A
Perfect	*tägāgädu* or *tä'agāgädu* or *tä'igāgädu*
Imperfect	*yitigāgädālu* or *yit'agāgädālu*
Jussive	*yätigāgädu* or *yät'agāgädu*

Type B: *tämāmäru* or *tä'amāmäru* or *tä'imāmäru*.

Causative of the reciprocal

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*atigāgäda*	*atimāmära*
Imperfect	*yätigāgdāl*	
Jussive	*yätigāgdi*	

§ 39. Class *lä'aka*

(*a*) This class contains triliteral verbs with the glottal stop ' as 2nd radical. The glottal stop goes back to an original ' or ' of Proto-Ethiopic: *la'aka* "send",

G. ለአከ *lä'akä*; *ṭä'ama* "taste good", G. ጠዐመ *ṭä'amä*. This class has the types A, B, C, and D.

(*b*) The triliteral form in this class can also be contracted into a biliteral verb resulting from the loss of the glottal stop and the contraction of the vowels. Thus, *ka'aba* "testify" also has the forms *kāba* and *kēba*. Whereas *kāba* can be explained through a phonetic development (*ka'aba* > **kaaba* > *kāba*), the form *kēba* is more difficult to explain. It is possible that the form *kēba* comes from an original triliteral verb of the Proto-Ethiopic class **kə'əbä*, that is, the *läbsä* class of the regular triliteral verbs. A form **kə'əbä* could perhaps become *kēba* through the loss of the glottal stop (*kə'əba* > *kəəba*) and the contraction of the vowels -*əə*- into *ē* (**kəəba* > *kēba*). It could also be that the form *kēba*, a variant of the class *la'aka*, arose by analogy with the class *lēṭa* (§ 47). [1]

The form *kēba* coincides in form and conjugation with *mēṭa*, that is, type B of the class *bäka* (§ 44 f), and with *lēṭa* (§ 47). The root of the verb and the etymology help us in determining the right classification of the verb.

It should be stated here that for the verbs *la'aka* "send", and *ra'ama* "massage", I did not record the forms *lēka*, *rēma*, as I did for *ka'aba*, *kāba*, and *kēba*, and some others. However, for the frequentative of this class, I recorded *likāka*, *kibāba*, both going back to a basic form **lēka*, *kēba*. It would seem that the form *kēba* became generalized for this verbal class, even for the verbs that go back to a Proto-Ethiopic type *la'aka*, that is, the *nägära* class of the regular triliteral verbs.

(*c*) To sum up, the Harari situation for the verbs with 2nd radical ' (going back to an original ' or ') would be as follows.

A Geez *lä'akä* became in Harari *la'aka*, also contracted into *lāka*. A Geez *ṭə'nä* became in Harari *ṭēna* (from *ṭə'na* > *ṭə'əna* > **ṭəəna* > *ṭēna*). Its triliteral form was also preserved as *ṭa'ana* that in its turn became contracted into *ṭāna* (*ṭa'ana* > **ṭaana* > *ṭāna*). The form *ṭēna* was then taken over by verbs of the class *la'aka*.

Note, however, that not all the verbs of the type *ṭə'nä* (*ṭə'nä*) became *ṭēna*, *kēba*, beside *ṭa'ana*, *ka'aba*; they kept instead the form *kāba*. This is true of *wala* "spend the day" going back to *wə'älä* for which one would expect the form **wēla*, a form that does not occur in Harari.

(*d*) The verb *gāza* "move from the house" presents a problem. Etymologically it is connected with G. ጎዐዘ *gə'əzä* "move the camp", but its imperfect *yigāzāl* [2] and jussive *yägāz* seem to indicate that the verb goes back to a root *gz'* and it would then be type C of *gz'*: *gāza'a* > *gāza*.

(*e*) Type A. Verbs going back to an original 2nd radical ': *la'aka* and *lāka* "send" (G. ለአከ *lä'akä*), *tä-sä'ala* "ask, pray" (G. ሰአለ *sə'älä*).

Verbs going back to an original 2nd radical ': *ṭa'ama* and *ṭēma* "taste good"

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[1] Leslau, p. 440.
[2] Cohen, p. 308, gives the form *yəgəzāl*.

(G. ጠዐመ *ṭäʿamä* and ጥዐመ *ṭəʿəmä*); *ṭaʾana*, *ṭāna*, and *ṭēna* "load" (G. ጸዐነ *ṣäʿanä* and ጽዕነ *ṣəʿənä*); *wāla* "spend the day" (G. ወዐለ *wəʿəlä*); and probably also *kaʾaba*, *kāba*, and *kēba* "testify", probably to be connected with the root *kʿb* "do something a second time > *repeat > testify".

A verb without any correspondence in Geez is *raʾama*, *rāma*, *rēma* "massage". For *riʾa* "see" connected with G. ርእየ *rəʾəyä*, see § 48c.

Type B: *sēʾada* "distribute" (no correspondence in North Ethiopic).

Type C: no verb was recorded.

Type D: *a-bōʾära* "deepen" (root *bʾr* "well, ditch").

In all the South Ethiopic languages, with the exception of Harari, Argobba, and Ennemor, the triliteral verbs with an original 2nd radical laryngeal became biliterals of the class *lakä*.

In Argobba, *ʾ* and *ʿ* became either *zero* or *h* according to the dialect; thus, *ṭama* and *ṭahama* "taste" (root *ṭʿm*), *laka* and *lahaka* "send" (root *lʾk*).

In Ennemor, *ʾ* and *ʿ* as 2nd radical are represented as *ʾ*; thus, *saʾarä* "beg" (root *sʾl*), *saʾamä* "kiss" (root *sʿm*). The North Ethiopic languages of G. Te. and Tna. keep the original *ʾ* or *ʿ*.

(*f*) The conjugation is as follows:
Basic stem

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*kaʾaba, kāba, kēba*	*sēʾada*
Simple imperfect	*yikīb(i)*	*yisīʾdi, yisīddi*
Compound imperfect	*yikībāl*	*yisīʾdāl, yisīddāl*
Jussive	*yäkēb*	*yäsēʾdi, yäsēddi*
Imperative	*kaʾab, kēb, kāb*	*sēʾdi, sēddi*
Infinitive	*mäkēba*	*mäsēʾad*

The conjugation of type A is the same as that of the class *lēṭa* (§ 47f).

In type B, note the optional assimilation of the glottal stop to the following consonant; thus *yisīʾdi* and *yisīddi*.

(*g*) The conjugation of *wāla* (root *wʿl*, with an initial *w*, see § 37) is as follows:

Perfect	*wāla*
Simple imperfect	*yūl(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yūlāl*, fem. *tūlāt* [1]
Jussive	*yäwāl*
Imperative	*waʾal* (probably also *wāl*), fem. *waʾayi* (§ 25b).
Infinitive	*mäwāl*

For the prefix of the imperfect *yū-* in *yūlāl* contracted from *yiwälāl*, see § 37c.

(*h*) Stem with *tä-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*täkaʾaba, täkāba, täkēba*	*täsēʾada*
Simple imperfect	*yitkēb(i)*	*yissēʾadi, yitsēʾadi*
Compound imperfect	*yitkēbāl*	*yissēʾadāl*

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[1] Cerulli, p. 11, gives the complete conjugation of the imperfect.

Jussive	*yätkēb*	*yässē'ad*
Imperative	*täkēb*	*täsē'ad*
Infinitive	*mätkēba*	*mässē'ad*

(*i*) Stem with *at-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*atka'aba, atkāba, atkēba*	*assē'ada*
Simple imperfect	*yätkīb(i)*	*yässī'di, yässīddi*
Compound imperfect	*yätkībāl*	*yässī'dāl, yässīddāl*
Jussive	*yätkēb*	*yässē'di, yässēddi*
Imperative	*atkēb*	*assē'di, assēddi*
Infinitive	*mätkēba*	*mässē'ad*

(*j*) Frequentative
Type A: *likāka, kibāba*
Type B: *si'ā'ada*

§ 40. Class *näsa'a*

(*a*) This class contains triliteral verbs with the glottal stop as 3rd radical. The glottal stop goes back to an original ' or ' of Proto-Ethiopic: *näsa'a* "take, carry", Geez ነሥአ *näš'a*; *räga'a* "coagulate", G. ረጐአ *räg'a*. This class has types A, B, C, and D.

(*b*) Occasionally the last two syllables can be contracted into one syllable resulting from the loss of the glottal stop: *qära* beside *qära'a* "read", *ḥēma'a* beside *ḥēma* "calumniate".

(*c*) Type A. Verbs going back to an original ' are: *gäba'a* "return",[1] *gäza'a* "govern", *mäla'a* "fill, fulfil", *näka'a* "touch" (Tna. *näk'e*),[2] *näsa'a* "carry, take", *qäña'a* "be jealous" (G. ቀንአ *qän'a*), *qära'a* and *qära* "read" (Arabic loanword from *qara'a*), *ṭäfa'a* "disappear", *ṭäla'a* "hate" (G. ጸልአ *ṣäl'a* or ጸልዐ *ṣäl'a*), *zära'a* "sow".[3] For *wäṭa'a* "go out", see § 37c.

(*d*) Verbs going back to an original 3rd radical ' are: *bäla'a* "eat", *käda'a* "abjure" (Tna. *käd'e*), *läfa'a* "become weak, exhausted" (Tna. *läf'e*), *näfa'a* "be useful" (from Arabic *nafi'a*), *qäna'a* "prosper" (Tna. *qän'e*), *qäṭa'a* "punish", *räga'a* "be coagulated", *räsa'a* "forget", *räta'a* "win", *säma'a* "hear, listen", *ṭäba'a* beside *ṭabī'āša* "seal". In *a-* stem only: *anäta'a* and *anäta* "be sick" (Tna. *nät'e* "be wounded"), *awäza'a* "perspire" (Ar. *wadi'a*, Hebr. *yeza'* "sweat").

(*e*) A verb that occurs only in the biliteral form is *bäqa* "be enough" (G. በቍዐ *bäqʷ'a*); this verb is perhaps borrowed from Amharic.

(*f*) In *a*-stem only without correspondence in Geez: *a-räda'a* and *a-räda* "announce the death" (Tna. *räd'e*).

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[1] Cohen, p. 291, gives the "deponent" form *gab'a*. Possibly the whole class can have the "deponent" form as is the case with the class *bäzäḥa, bäzḥa* (§ 43).
[2] The Tigre or Tigrinya correspondence is indicated only where there is no Geez equivalent.
[3] G. *zär'a*, rarely *zär'a*, but the other Semitic languages, such as Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac have *zr'*.

(*g*) Type B: *ḥēmaʾa* and *ḥēma* "calumniate" (see above). [1]

Type C: *qābaʾa* "anoint" (G. ቀብአ *qābʾa*), *gāza* "move from the house" (see § 39d).

Type D: *gōfaʾa* and *gōfa* "push" (G. ገፍአ *gäfʾa*), *gōraʾa* "slaughter", [2] *kōraʾa* "measure by cubit" (G. ኩርና *kwərnaʿ* "cubit"). In *a-* stem only: *amōsaʾa-* and *amōsa-* "be impossible".

> In all the Ethiopic languages, with the exception of Harari and Ennemor, the triliteral verbs with an original 3rd radical laryngeal became biliterals of the class *bälla*.
>
> In Ennemor, the verbs with an original 3rd radical ʾ or ʿ became either triliterals with the last radical ʾ (*känʾa* "defend", root *klʾ*; *bänʾa* "eat", root *blʿ*), or biliterals (*näsa* "carry", root *nsʾ*; *näkā* "be coagulated", root *rgʿ*), or biliterals in the perfect, but triliterals in the other forms (*gäpa* "enter", but imperfect *yəgäbʾa*).
>
> In Zway, the verbs with an original 3rd radical ʾ have the form *gäba* (with final *-a*) whereas the verbs with an original 3rd radical ʿ have the form *bälä* (with final *ä*).
>
> The North Ethiopic languages of Geez, Tigre, and Tigrinya keep the original ʾ or ʿ. For more details, see *Gafat*, p. 121.

(*h*) In the conjugation the glottal stop is most often omitted, especially in forms where there is no vowel between the 2nd radical and the glottal stop. This is true of the imperfect and in the jussive-imperative of types B, C, and D. The loss of the ʾ also occurs occasionally in other forms. The conjugation is as follows:

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D
Perfect	*näsaʾa*	*ḥēmaʾa*	*qābaʾa*	*gōraʾa*
Simple imperfect	*yinäs(i)*	*yiḥīm(i)*	*yiqāb(i)*	*yigūr(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yinäsāl*	*yiḥīmāl*	*yiqābāl*	*yigūrāl*
Jussive	*yänsaʾ*	*yäḥēm*	*yäqāb*	*yägōr*
Imperative	*nisaʾ*	*ḥēm*	*qāb*	*gōr*
Infinitive	*mänsaʾ*	*mäḥēma*	*mäqābaʾ*	*mägōra*

(*i*) In the perfect, the final ʾ can be assimilated to the following consonantal suffix. The forms are:

Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *bälaʾa*	*bälaʾu*
3rd fem. *bälaʾti* or *bälatti*	
2nd masc. *bälaʾki* or *bälakki* [3]	*bälaʾku* or *bälakku*
2nd fem. *bälaʾši* or *bälašši*	
1st com. *bälaʾku* or *bälakku*	*bälaʾna* or *bälanna*

(*j*) In the verb *bälaʾa* "eat", and *bäqa* "be enough", the syllable *-ibä-* (passing

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[1] This root goes back to G. *ḥmy*, with last radical *y*. The Amh. *amma* "calumniate" has also the appearance of a root with an original 3rd radical laryngeal.

[2] This root, most probably of Cushitic origin, also occurs in S.W. *gorä*, Z. *gurä*. The G. *gwärʿaya* "strangle" is probably a denominative of *gwərʿe* "throat" as suggested by Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, col. 1157, and is not to be connected with the above-mentioned root of Cushitic and Harari, as suggested by Cerulli, p. 250.

[3] Cerulli, p. 102, gives the forms *bälaḥi*, *bälaši*, *bälaḥu*, with a simple consonant.

through **ibä-*, -**iwä-*) becomes contracted in *ō*[1] and the forms of the verbs are the following:

Perfect	*bäla'a* [2]	*bäqa*
Imperfect	*yōlāl* for **yibālāl*	*yōqāl*
Jussive	*yäbla'*	
Imperative	*bila'*	
Infinitive	*mäbla'*	

The perfect with the relative *ẓi-* is *ẓibäla'a* or *ẓōla*. For the contraction, see also *bäya* (§ 45f).

(*k*) Stem with *tä-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*tänäsa'a*	*tähēma'a*
Simple imperfect	*yitnäsa'(i)*	*yithēm(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yitnäsä'āl*	*yithēma'āl* or *yithēmāl*
Jussive	*yätnäsa'*	*yäthēma'* or *yäthēm*
Imperative	*tänäsa'*	*tähēma'* or *tähēm*
Infinitive	*mätnäsa'*	*mäthēma'*

	Type C	Type D
Perfect	*täqāba'a*	*tägōra'a*
Simple imperfect	*yitqāb(i)*	*yitgōra'(i)* or *yitgōr*
Compound imperfect	*yitqāba'āl* or *yitqābāl*	*yitgōra'āl* or *yitgōrāl*
Jussive	*yätqāba'* or *yätqāb*	*yätgōra'* or *yätgōr*
Imperative	*täqāba'* or *täqāb*	*tägōra'* or *tägōr*
Infinitive	*mätqāba'*	*mätgōra'*

(*l*) Stem with *a-*

	Type A
Perfect	*aräga'a*
Simple imperfect	*yarägi*
Compound imperfect	*yarägāl* [3]
Jussive	*yärga'*
Imperative	*arga'*
Infinitive	*märga'*

Other verbs with *a-* are: *aläfa'a* "cause to be exhausted", *aṭäfa'a* "cause to disappear", *awåẓa'a* "perspire", *anäta'a-* (impersonal) "be sick".

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[1] The special mention made by Cerulli, p. 106, of a class of verbs with 1st radical *b* might give the impression as if these verbs had a special treatment, whereas Cerulli himself gives only the two above-mentioned verbs (*bäla'a* and *bäqa*) as having *ibä*> *ō*. Indeed, all the other verbs beginning with *b* are treated normally.

[2] Cerulli, pp. 102, 103, gives a complete conjugation of this verb.

[3] For *abäla'a* (causative of *bäla'a*), Cerulli, p. 121, gives the form *yawalāl* (see § 40j).

(*m*) Stem with *at-*

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D
Perfect	atnēsa'a	athēma'a	atqāba'a	atgōra'a
Simple imperfect	yätnīs(i)	yäthīm(i)	yätqāb(i)	yätgūr(i)
Compound imperfect	yätnīsāl	yäthīmāl	yätqābāl	yätgūrāl
Jussive	yätnēs	yäthēm	yätqāb	yätgōr
Imperative	atnēs	athēm	atqāb	atgōr
Infinitive	mätnēsa'	mäthēma	mätqāba'	mätgōra

(*n*) Frequentative

Type A: *nisāsa'a.* Type B: *ḥimāma* (or *ḥimāma'a*). Type C: *qibāba* (or *qibāba'a*). Type D: *gurāra* (or *gurāra'a*).

Reciprocal

Type A: *täṭāla'u* or *täṭlāla'u.* Type B: *tähāmu* or *tähāma'u.*
Type C: *täqābu* or *täqāba'u* or *täqbāba'u.*
Type D: *tägrāru* or *tägrārä'u.*

Causative of reciprocal

Type A: *aṭṭāla'a* or *aṭṭilāla'a*
Type C: *atqāba'a* or *atqibāba'a*
Type D: *atgurārä'a*

§ 41. Class *ḥadäga*

(*a*) This class contains triliteral verbs with the laryngeal *ḥ* as 1st radical. [1] The laryngeal *ḥ* goes back to an original *ḥ* or *ḫ* of Proto-Ethiopic: [2] *ḥarāsa* "plough", G. ሐረሰ *ḥarāsä*; *ḥadäga* "abandon", G. ኀደገ *ḫadägä*.
This class has the types A, B, and C.

(*b*) Type A. Verbs going back to an original *ḥ* are: *ḥabāṭa* "swell", *ḥafāqa* "embrace" (G. ሐቀፈ *ḥaqäfä*), *ḥafāsa* "take a handful, gather", *ḥagäma* "cup" (Ar. *ḥagama*), *ḥakäma* "judge", *ḥalāba* "milk", *ḥarāsa* "plough", *ḥarära* "be burned, be in a rage".

Verbs going back to an original *ḫ* are: *ḥadäga* "abandon", *ḥadära* "spend the night", *ḥanäqa* "strangle", *ḥaṭära* "be short" (G. ኀጸረ *ḫaṣärä*), *ḥaṭäba* "wash" (G. ኀፀበ *ḫaḍäbä*).

A verb without any correspondent in North Ethiopic is: *ḥatäfa* "advise".

(*c*) Type B. With *ḥ* going back to Proto-Ethiopic *ḥ*: *ḥēma'a* "calumniate" (G. ሐማየ *ḥamäyä* and *ḥammäyä*, that is, types A and B), *ḥēsäba* "think" (G. ሐሰበ *ḥasäbä*, type A), *ḥēṭära* "make a fence" (G. ኀጸረ *ḫaṣärä*, type A), *ḥēwäsa* "mix, stir" (Tna. *ḥawwäsä*, type B; G. አኅሰ *'a-ḥosä* "move").

With *ḥ* going back to Proto-Ethiopic or Proto-Semitic *ḫ*: *ḥēläqa* "count" (G. ኈለቈ *ḫʷälläqʷä*, type B); with the morpheme *at-*: *atḥēbära* "ask" (from Ar. *'istaḫbara*).

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[1] This sound was not recorded either in Cohen or in Cerulli; instead, they recorded the sound *ḥ*. I discussed elsewhere (*RSE*, 6 [1947], 135; *JAOS*, 71 [1951], 213) the existence of the sound *ḥ* in Harari, with the exclusion of *ḫ*. For the verbs with 1st radical *ḥ* (instead of *ḫ*), see Cohen, p. 288, Cerulli, p. 100.

[2] The *ḥ* goes probably also back to an original *ḥ*, but I did not find any example with an initial *ḫ* in Harari in connection with an original verb beginning with *ḥ*.

Without any correspondence in Proto-Ethiopic: *ḥēgäna* "replace", *ḥēkäfa* "dig with a hoe", [1] (perhaps Tna. *ḥakäf bälä* "make the noise of scratching"), *ḥēkäla* "adze" (probably Te. *ḥakəl* "ax", Tna. *ḥakli* "handle of ax"), [2] *ḥēläda* "finish"; with the morpheme *tä-*: *täḥēräga* "take counsel".

(*d*) Type C: *ḥākäka* "itch" (G. ሐከከ *ḥakäkä*), *ḥasäsa* "rub on the surface, grope" (Tna. *ḥasäsä* "wipe, rub", related to G. *ḥasäyä* "rub").

The only languages that have a verbal class with initial *ḥ* are Geez, Tigre, and Tigrinya. Note that in Te. and Tna., the laryngeal *ḥ* represents the coalescence of *ḥ* and *ḫ*, whereas in Geez, the two sounds are represented separately. In Argobba, an original *h*, *ḥ*, and *ḫ* as first radical are represented as *ḥ*. For the other Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, p. 118.

Harari and Tigre are the only Ethiopic languages in which the verbs with initial *ḥ* have the type C. In Har. type C is *ḥakäka* as against *ḥadäga* of type A, whereas in Tigre, type C is *ḥabära* as against *ḥasba* of type A. [3] As for Tigrinya and Geez, languages that also have verbs with initial *ḥ*, the vowel of the laryngeals is always *a* for an expected *ä*, and these languages do not have the vowel *ā* as against the vowel *a*. Consequently, there is no formal distinction in these languages between types A and C. [4] In Tigre, even though there is no vowel *ā* in type C, the distinction is made through the different vocalic structure (*ḥabära* as against *ḥasba*).

(*e*) The conjugation is as follows:

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	*ḥanäqa*	*ḥēläqa*	*ḥākäka*
Simple imperfect	*yaḥanqi*	*yiḥīlqi*	*yāḥäkki*
Compound imperfect	*yaḥanqāl* [5]	*yiḥīlqāl* [6]	*yāḥäkkāl*
Jussive	*yaḥnäq*	*yäḥēlqi*	*yāḥäkki*
Imperative	*ḥinäq*	*ḥēlqi*	*ḥākki*
Infinitive	*maḥnäq*	*mäḥēläq*	*mäḥākäk*

Note in the imperfect the vowel *a* of the prefix either because of the assimilation of the original *i* (§ 11a) to the vowel *a* following the *ḥ* (*yaḥanqi* instead of *yiḥanqi*), or because of the laryngeal *ḥ*. The assimilation also occurs with the relative element *zi-* becoming *za-* in the perfect; thus, *ziḥanäqa* "he who strangled" beside *zaḥanäqa*.

The verb *ḥēkäfa* "dig with a hoe" shows the metathesis in the imperfect *yiḥīfkāl* beside *yiḥīkfāl*.

(*f*) Stem with *tä-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*täḥanäqa*	*täḥēbära*
Imperfect	*yitḥanäqāl*	*yitḥēbäräl*
Jussive	*yätḥanäq*	*yätḥēbär*
Imperative	*täḥanäq*	*täḥēbär*
Infinitive	*mätḥanäq*	*mätḥēbär*

[1] Cerulli, p. 255, has *ḥaqafa*.
[2] On the basis of a Te. Tna. root with *ḥ* it is difficult to know whether Proto-Ethiopic had *ḥ* or *ḫ* in this root (see below).
[3] *JAOS*, 65 (1945), 15.
[4] Leslau, *Documents Tigrigna*, p. 100.
[5] Cerulli, p. 101, has *yiḥalbal* beside *yaḥarsal*.
[6] I did not record an imperfect *iḥasbāḫ* (Cerulli *eḥasbāḫ*), *tiḥasbāḫ* (Cerulli *tiḥasbāḫ*), as given in Cerulli, p. 98, instead of *əḥīsbāḫ*, *tiḥīsbāḫ*.

(*g*) Stem with *a-*

I did not record any verb in the stem with *a-*.

(*h*) Stem with *at-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*athēṭāra*	*athēbāra*
Imperfect	*yäthīṭrāl*	*yäthībrāl* [1]
Jussive	*yäthēṭri*	*yäthēbri*
Imperative	*athēṭri*	*athēbri*
Infinitive	*mäthēṭär*	*mäthēbär*

(*i*) Frequentative

Basic stem. Type A: *ḥibābäla* "deceive" (G. ሕበላየ *ḥabläyä*). Type B: *ḥilālāqa* "count several things".

Reciprocal

Perfect	*täḥērägu* or *täḥrārägu* "take counsel from one another"
Imperfect	*yitḥērägālu*
Jussive	*yäthērägu*
Imperative	*täḥērägu*

Causative of reciprocal

Perfect	*athēräga* or *athirāräga*
Imperfect	*yäthīrārgāl*
Jussive	*yäthīrāräg*
Imperative	*athirāräg*

§ 42. Class *lāḥasa*

(*a*) This class contains triliteral verbs with the laryngeal *ḥ* as 2nd radical. The laryngeal *ḥ* goes back to an original *ḥ* or *ḫ* of Proto-Ethiopic: *lāḥasa* "lick", G. ለሐሰ *lāḥasä*; *rāḥaba* "be hungry", G. ርኅበ *rəḫabä*. [2]

This class has types A, B, C, and D.

(*b*) Type A. Verbs going back to an original *ḥ* are: *lāḥasa* "lick", *mäḥaṭa* "hit" (G. መሐፀ *mäḥaṣä* and መፀፀ *mäḥaṣä*).

Verbs going back to an original *ḫ* are: *rāḥaba* "be hungry" (G. ርኅበ *rəḫabä*), [3] *wāḥaṭa* "swallow" (G. ወኅጠ *wəḫaṭä* and ወሐጠ *wäḥaṭä*).

Verbs without any correspondence in Geez: *kāḥasa* "compensate", [4] *lāḥada* "hold, catch", *nāḥaṭa* "churn".

(*c*) Type B. Verbs going back to an original *ḫ* are: *čēḥara* "rake, scratch"

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[1] Cerulli, p. 123, recorded the form *yathibri* beside *yatibri* (without *h*) for the simple imperfect.

[2] In the only instance of G. *fāḥaqä* and *fäḥaqä* "tan", the Harari verb *fāḥaqa* corresponds perhaps to G. *ḥ*, but the original root is most probably *fḥq*, and *fḫq* is a variant. For Har. *lēqa* going back to *lḥq*, see § 47c.

[3] Cohen, p. 295, gives the verb as *rehaba* (that is, *rēhaba*).

[4] The Tna. *kāḥasä* and Te. *kāḥasa* do not furnish any proof for the nature of the 2nd radical since the *ḥ* of Te. and Tna. represents the coalescence of *ḥ* and *ḫ*.

(G. ጸሐረ *ṣaḥarä*), *fēḥama* "be red hot", *fēḥaqa* "tan" (G. ፈሐቀ *fāḥaqä* and ፈሀቀ *fāhaqä*, see p. 50, n. 2), *lēḥama* "be soft, smooth", *lēḥaṭa* "bark a tree", *rēḥasa* "be wet", *sēḥaqa* "laugh", *ṭēḥana* "be fine (flour)".

Verbs without any correspondence in Geez: *gēḥaṭa* "nibble", [1] *sēḥaṭa* "insert", *zēḥaba* "drag" (*täzēḥaba* "crawl", probably in connection with G. ሰሐበ *säḥabä* "drag"); with the morpheme *a-*: *a-mēḥasa* "become worse".

(*d*) Type C. With the morpheme *tä-*: *tägāḥama* "become red hot, be very hungry", *tälāḥada* "burn" (intransitive); see above, *lāḥada* "seize".

(*e*) Type D: *rōḥaqa* "be far" (G. ርሐቀ *rəḥəqä*); with the morpheme *tä-*: *tägōḥara* "get hoarse".

The only languages that have a verbal class with medial *ḥ* are Geez, Tigre, and Tigrinya. Note that in Te. and Tna. the laryngeal *ḥ* represents the coalescence of *ḥ* and *ḫ*, whereas in Geez the two sounds are represented separately. In Argobba, an original medial *ḥ* is represented as *h* or *zero* (*laqa* and *lāhaqa* "grow", root *lhq*); an original *ḥ* or *ḫ* is represented as *h* (*rähaqa* "be far", root *rhq*; *dähaṭa* "slide", root *dhṭ*). In the other South Ethiopic languages the triliteral verbs with an original 2nd laryngeal became biliterals. For more details, see *Gafat*, p. 130.

(*f*) The conjugation is as follows:

Basic stem

	Type A	Type B	Type D		
Perfect	*lāḥasa*	*ṭēḥana*	*rōḥaqa*		
Simple imperfect	*yilāḥsi*	*yiṭīḥni*	*yirūḥqi*		
Compound imperfect	*yilāḥsāl*	*yiṭīḥnāl*	*yirūḥqāl*		
Jussive	*yālḥas*	*yäṭēḥni*	*yärōḥqi*	or	*yärḥaq*
Imperative	*lāḥas*	*ṭēḥni*	*rōḥqi*	or	*rāḥaq*
Infinitive	*mālḥas*	*mäṭēḥan*	*märōḥaq*	or	*märḥaq*

(*g*) Stem with *tä-*

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	*tälaḥada*	*täfēḥaqa*	*tälāḥada*
Simple imperfect	*yitlaḥad(i)*	*yitfēḥaq(i)*	*yitlāḥad(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yitlaḥadāl*	*yitfēḥaqāl*	*yitlāḥadāl*
Jussive	*yätlaḥad*	*yätfēḥaq*	*yätlāḥad*
Imperative	*tälaḥad*	*täfēḥaq*	*tälāḥad*
Infinitive	*mätlaḥad*	*mätfēḥaq*	*mätlāḥad*

(*h*) Stem with *a-*

	Type B
Perfect	*arēḥasa* "wet", *aṭēḥana* "grind", *amēḥasa* "become worse"
Simple imperfect	*yarīḥsi*
Compound imperfect	*yarīḥsāl*

---

[1] Tigre has *gḥṭ*, but since Te. *ḥ* represents the coalescence of *ḥ* and *ḫ*, the Te. root cannot furnish any proof for the nature of the 2nd radical.

Jussive   *yarēḫsi*
Imperative   *arēḫsi*
Infinitive   *mārēḫas*

(*i*) Stem with *at-*

	Type A	Type B	Type D
Perfect	*atlēḥada*	*atgēḥaṭa*	*atrōḫaqa*
Imperfect	*yatlīḥdāl*	*yatgīḥṭāl*	
Jussive	*yatlēḥdi*	*yätgēḥṭi*	
Imperative	*atlēḥdi*	*atgēḥṭi*	
Infinitive	*mätlēḥad*	*mätgēḥaṭ*	

(*j*) Frequentative
Type A: *liḥāḥasa*; type B: *čiḥāḥara*

Reciprocal
Perfect   *tämḫāḥaṭu* "hit one another", *täkāḥalu* "be reconciled"
Imperfect   *yitmāḥaḥaṭālu*
Jussive   *yätmāḥaḥaṭu*

Causative of reciprocal
Type A: *atmāḥaṭa* or *atmiḥāḥaṭa*
Type B: *atčāḥara*

§ 43. Class *bäzäḥa, bäzḫa*

(*a*) This class contains triliteral verbs ending in *ḥ*. The laryngeal *ḥ* goes back to an original *ḥ*, *h*, or *ḫ* of Proto-Ethiopic. The syllabic structure of this class is *bäzäḥa* (*bäzaḥa*) or *bäzḫa*.

This class has types A, B, C, and D.

The syllabic structure *bäzḫa* also occurs in Geez for this class, as against the two classes *nägärä* and *läbsä* for the regular triliteral verb. Tigrinya, which has the syllabic structure of *säbärä* for all the triliterals, uses the form *sämᶜe* for the verbs with the last radical laryngeal.

(*b*) Type A. Verbs going back to an original *ḥ* are: *fäläḥa* "boil", *qädäḥa* "draw water", *käläḥa* "shout", [1] *fätäḥa* "loosen, unload", *qämäḥa* "chew the narcotic plant čat" [2], *säbäḥa* "be fat (animal)", *ṭäbäḥa* "skin".

Verbs going back to an original *h* are: *bäläḥa* "be sharp", *bäzäḥa* "be numerous", *ṭäräḥa* "call" (G. ጸርኀ *ṣärḫa*).

A verb with *ḥ* going back to an original *h* is *näqäḥa* "be awake" (G. ነቅሀ *näqha*).

Verbs that have no correspondent in Geez are: *däläḥa* "sin", *mäläḥa* "chose", *säläḥa* "dance", *zägäḥa* "be wide". [3]

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[1] Cohen, p. 291, mentions two examples of the "deponent" type taken from Mondon-Vidailhet: *näṭha* (*näṭḥa*) "make white" and *kälḥa* (*kälḥa*) "shout". The statement gives the impression as if this type were independent from the type *bäzaḥa*, whereas according to my investigation the type *bäzḫa* is a variant of *bäzäḥa*. Thus *kälḥa* is a variant of *käläḥa*.

[2] The form *qammaha*, with geminated *m*, given by Cohen, p. 292, is undoubtedly misheard for *qämaḥa*, since Harari has no verbs with the 2nd radical geminated.

[3] Tna. *zärgəhe* "be wide" does not furnish any proof for the nature of the last radical since Tna. *h* represents the coalescence of *h* and *ḥ*.

(*c*) Type B: *qērāḫa* "guard, tend", [1] *täqērāḫa* "take care, be careful", *tälēqāḫa* "borrow" (G. ⵏⵁⵃ *läqqǝḫa*), *alēqāḫa* "lend".

(*d*) Type C: *rāǧaḫa* "outweigh" (from Ar. *raǧaḫa*); with the morpheme *a-*: *afāraḫa* "satisfy, make happy" (probably from Ar. *fariḫa* "be happy"); with the morpheme *at-*: *atbādāḫa* "mix two liquids in two different cups", *addālāḫa* "throw stones repeatedly".

(*e*) Type D: *fōrāḫa* "search everywhere".

The only languages that have a verbal class with final *ḫ* are Geez, Tigre, and Tigrinya. Note that in Te. and Tna. the laryngeal *ḫ* represents the coalescence of *ḥ* and *ḫ*, whereas in Geez the two sounds are represented separately. In Argobba, an original *h*, *ḥ*, and *ḫ* are represented as *h* (*bäzzäha* "be numerous", G. *bzḫ*). In all the other South Ethiopic languages, the final laryngeals became *zero* so that the triliteral verbs with an original 3rd radical laryngeal became biliterals. For more details, see *Gafat*, p. 121.

(*f*) The conjugation is as follows:

Basic stem

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*näqaḫa*	*qērāḫa*
Simple imperfect	*yinäqḫi*	*yiqīrḫi*
Compound imperfect	*yinäqḫāl*	*yiqīrḫāl*
Jussive	*yänqaḫ*	*yäqērḫi, yäqēḫri*
Imperative	*niqaḫ*	*qērḫi*
Infinitive	*mänqaḫ*	*māqēraḫ*

The perfect of the *bäzaḫa*-class is inflected regularly, without assimilation of the *ḫ* to the consonantal suffix. Thus, sg. 3rd masc. *mälaḫa*, fem. *mälaḫti*, 2nd masc. *mälaḫki*, fem. *mälaḫši*, 1st com. *mälaḫku*, and so on. [2]

In the cases in which the final *ḫ* is in contact with the preceding consonant one encounters metathesis occasionally. Thus, from *zägāḫa*: imperfect *yizäḫgāl* instead of *yizäǧhāl*; from *qāmāḫa*: imperf. *yiqaḫmāl* instead of *yiqämḫāl*; from *qērāḫa*: jussive *yäqēḫri* beside and instead of *yäqērḫi*.

(*g*) Stem with *tä-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*täfātäḫa*	*täqēraḫa*
Simple imperfect	*yitfätäḫ(i)*	*yitqēraḫ(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yitfätäḫāl*	*yitqēraḫāl*
Jussive	*yätfätaḫ*	*yätqēraḫ*
Imperative	*täfātaḫ*	*täqēraḫ*
Infinitive	*mätfätaḫ*	*mätqēraḫ*

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[1] Cerulli, p. 102, gives the form *qēhara* (that is, *qēhara*), that is probably derived back from the jussive *yäqēḫri*, a metathesis of the root *qrḫ*.

[2] This is in disagreement with Cerulli, p. 104, who gives the following forms: sg. 3rd masc. *malaha*, fem. *malahti*, 2nd masc. *malaḫi*, fem. *malaši*, 1st com. *malaḫu*, and so on, that is, with the disappearance of the last radical.

(*h*) Stem with *a-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*abälaḥa*	*alēqaḥa*
Simple imperfect	*yäbälḥi*	*yälīqḥi*
Compound imperfect	*yäbälḥäl*	*yälīqḥäl*
Jussive	*yäblaḥ*	*yälēḥqi* (metathesis)
Imperative	*ablaḥ*	*alēḥqi*
Infinitive	*mäblaḥ*	*mälēḥaq*

Other verbs of type A with the *a-* morpheme are: *abäzäḥa* "augment", *anäqäḥa* "wake up", *asäbäḥa* "fatten".

(*i*) Stem with *at-*

	Type A	Type B
Perfect	*atqēdaḥa*	*atlēqaḥa*
Simple imperfect	*yätqīdḥi*	*yätlīqḥi*
Compound imperfect	*yätqīdḥäl*	*yätlīqḥäl*
Jussive	*yätqēdḥi*	*yätlēqḥi*
Imperative	*atqēdḥi*	*atlēqḥi*
Infinitive	*mätqēdaḥ*	*mätlēqaḥ*

(*j*) Frequentative

Type A. Perfect *qidādaḥa*; imperfect *yiqdäḥdäl* (with metathesis), jussive *yäqdäḥdi*.

Reciprocal

Type A: *tänqäqäḥu* or *tänäqäḥu* "they woke each other".

Type B: *tälqäqäḥu* or *täläqäḥu* "they borrowed from each other".

Causative of the reciprocal

Type A: *atniqäqaḥa* or *atnäqaḥa*.

Type B: *atliqäqaḥa* or *atläqaḥa*.

BILITERALS

The biliterals originate from triliterals with *w* or *y* as 3nd or 2rd radical. The classes of the biliterals are: *bäka*, *säča* (§ 44), *ḵāna* (§ 45), *mōta* (§ 46), *lēṭa* (§ 47), and *dīğa* (§ 48).

§ 44. Class *bäka*, *säča*

(*a*) This class contains biliterals originating from triliterals with the last radical *w* or *y*. If the 2nd radical is a dental or sibilant it is palatalized because of the final *y*. Unfortunately, a definite etymology cannot be established for all the verbs. This makes it difficult to determine whether the last radical was originally *w* or *y*. [1]

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[1]   This class is to be separated from verbs such as *qära* "read", *bäqa* "be enough", *a-näta* "be sick", *a-räda* "announce the death" that originate from triliterals with the last radical

This class has types A, B, C, and D.

(*b*) Type A. Verbs originating from triliterals with last radical *w*: *qala* "roast, fry" (G. ቀለወ *qäläwä*), *säta* "give" (G. ተሰጠወ *tä-sätäwä* "receive"), *täba* "suck" (G. ጠበወ *täbäwä*).

Verbs originating from triliterals with last radical *y*: *bäka* "cry, weep" (G. በከየ *bäkäyä*), *kära* "dig" (G. ከረየ *käräyä*), *qara* "delay, stay out, remain behind" (Tna. *qäräyä*), *säfa* "sew" (G. Tna. ሰፈየ *säfäyä*).

Verbs with the 2nd radical palatalized: *fäǧa* "destroy, accomplish" (G. ፈደየ *fädäyä*), *mäša* "become evening" (G. መሰየ *mäsyä*), *näča* "pluck out (grass), reap" (G. ነሰየ *näṣäyä*), *säča* "drink" (G. ሰተየ *sätyä*). The verb *fäča* "grind" seems to go back to G. ፈጽሐ *fäṣḥa*.

With the morpheme *a-*: *agäňa* "find", if we accept the comparison with G. ገነየ *gänäyä* "bend". [1]

(*c*) Verbs of Cushitic origin for which no North Ethiopic correspondent can be found:
gäňa "throw away" (Som. *gan*); [2]
kaša "desire" (probably from Kambatta *haššo*, Qabenna *haššoʾ*);
täfa "be satiated" (Selti, Wolani *ṭofe*, Čaha *ṭäfʷä-m*, probably from Kambatta *dubbo*, Qabenna *dibboʾ*).

(*d*) Verbs with initial *ḥ*: *ḥafa* "long for" (from Galla *hafu* "await");
ḥaǧa "pierce, hit" (Argobba *haǧa*, Selti, Wolane *aǧe*, perhaps in connection with Amh. *wägga*, G. ወግአ *wägʾa*);
ḥaša "rub" (G. ሐሰየ *ḥasäyä*);
ḥawa "recover, heal" (G. ሐየወ *ḥaywä* "live", Te. *ḥaya* "be well").
With the morpheme *tä-*: *tähača* "feel pain".

(*e*) A special case is *fära* "fear". The Geez prototype is ፈርሀ *färha*, with final *h*. As we have seen above (§ 43), the verbs with original last radical *h* keep their triliteral form, and the Harari verb should then be **färäha*. It seems, therefore, that Har. *fära* goes back to **fry*, as is also true of Selti, Wolane *färe*, and Zway *färi*. See also below, for *bära*.

(*f*) Type B. The form of type B of this class is *mēča*, a structure that resembles that of type A of the class *lēṭa*. Unfortunately, I do not remember whether I inquired about the conjugation of all the verbs having the form *mēča*, *lēṭa*. From the few verbs that I did record, it would seem that the conjugation is the same. It is, therefore, difficult to know whether a given verb belongs to type B of the class *bäka* (that is, *mēča*) or to type A of the class *lēṭa*. The existence and the form of the same verb in the other Ethiopic languages help us in the elucidation of the problem. A verb for which no etymology could be established

³ or ʿ. These triliterals became biliterals by contraction; thus, *qara* "read ʿ" beside *qäraʾa*; *bäqa* "be enough" is connected with G. *bäqʷʿa*; *anäta* "be sick" beside *anätaʾa*, and so on; see § 40b, d.
[1] Praetorius, p. 7.
[2] Cerulli, p. 249.

was classified as belonging to *mēča* (type B of *bäka*) or *lēṭa* according to the nature of the last consonant. Thus, for instance, *a-qēša* "despise" is undoubtedly a type B of *bäka* (coming from **qsy*) because of the prepalatal *š*, whereas *gēsa* "implore" is a *lēṭa* type (that is, coming from **gsy*) because of the nonpalatal quality of the last consonant.

On the basis of these considerations the following verbs can be included in the *mēča* type:

ḥēga "observe, spy" (Argobba *hanga*, Gafat *aggä*, root *ḥẓy*); [1]

mēča "wash cloth" (also of type B in Gurage: Čaha *mečä-m*, Selti, Wolane *meče*, Zway *miči*; of Cushitic origin: Kambatta *mečče'*, Qabenna *mečči-yo'*);

qēča "go to the field", *aqēča* "lead to the field" (probably from **qsy*).

With the morpheme *tä-*: *tämēča* "be suitable, suit" (Amh. *tämäččä*, Selti *tä-meče*, Argobba *əmmečča*, of type B).

With the morpheme *a-*: *afēča* "whistle" (Tna. G. **ፈጸየ** *faṣäyä*);

ašēňa "accompany" (Amh. *ašaňňä*, of type B [2], from G. *sny*); [3]

aqēša "despise" (from Galla *qišu*).

(g) Type C. The form is *fāča*. It coincides in the perfect with some verbs of the class *kāna* (§ 45), and with the verbs of the class *la'aka* having the variant *lāka* (§ 39), but the etymology and the conjugation indicate that these classes are to be separated, and the verbs of the form *fāča* go back to triliterals with the last radical *y*. The form *fāča* is thus type C of the class *bäka*. [4]

The verbs of this type are:

fāča "seek, desire" (Zway *fači*, of Cushitic origin); [5]

lāya "separate" (Amharic *läyyä*, of type B; Selti, Wolane *laye*, of type C, from *lyy*; Geez **ለለየ** *leläyä*, from **lyly*);

māša "sweep, rub, erase" [6] (Chaha *mʷašä-m*, Ennemor, Gyeto *mʷašä*, Tna. *masäwa* "caress, massage");

māga "be better", *amāga* "vanquish";

ẓāňa "dawn" (Argobba *ẓaňňa*, Muher, Gogot, Aymellel *ẓaňňä-m*, all of type C; from Cushitic: Qabenna *ẓaňňiyo'*). [7]

With the morpheme *tä-*:

tämāga "make a step" (denominative from *ma'däw* "the other side", from the root *'dw* "cross");

tägāču "collide", reciprocal (Amh. *tägačču*, probably a denominative from G. **ገጽ** *gäṣ* "face", the verb would thus mean "be face to face"); [8]

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[1]   Praetorius, p. 510; Leslau, *Gafat*, p. 173.

[2]   M. Cohen, *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, p. 185.

[3]   I. Guidi, *Vocabolario amarico-italiano*, col. 222.

[4]   Cerulli, p. 111, did not recognize the type C structure of this class. He placed together *fāča* and *wāla* for which see here § 39g.

[5]   Cerulli, p. 246.

[6]   This verb is given with different forms in Cohen, p. 294.

[7]   The verb *rāga* "be old" given as belonging to type C (Leslau, *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, vol. 21. fasc. 2, p. 77) proves to be an error. This form is the adjective *rāga* "old", the verb "be old" being expressed by *rāga kāna*.

[8]   Geez *tägäṣ(ṣ)äwä* "be represented".

täwäka "swim" (Masqan *wakk'ä*, Selti, Wolane *wače*, from Cushitic: Gudella *wačā-kko*, Kambatta *wačče'*).

With the morpheme *a-*: *aqäña* "be ashamed" (from Galla *qañau̯*).

(*h*) The verb *bära* "clear up (weather)" presents a problem. It goes back etymologically to *brh*, which should be represented as **bäräḥa* (§ 43), or *bäraḥa* if it were of type C. It, therefore, seems that *bära* is a type C going back to a root *brw*, *bry*, as is true in Selti *a-bare*, Wolane *bare*, from *bry*. See above for *fära* (§ 44e). For the verbs *āša*, *āña*, see § 45g, h.

(*i*) Type D. The form is *qōča*. It coincides in form and conjugation with the class *mōta* (§ 46), but the etymology and the prepalatal quality of the last consonant indicate that the form *qōča* goes back to triliterals with the last radical *y*. The form *qōča* is thus type D of *bäka*.

The verbs of this class are:

qōča "cut, decide" (S.W. *qoče*, Z. *quči*, going back to *qčy*, *qsy*, cp. Hebrew, Aramaic *qsy* "cut");

ṭōña "exceed" (the S. *ṭoñe*, Z. *ṭuñi*, with final *-e*, *-i* indicate a verb *ṭny > ṭñ* even though it is tempting to connect it with G. *ṣnʿ* "be strong");

sōča and *šōča* "smell" (S.W. *sonče*, Z. *sunči*, with inserted *n*; the final *-ə*, *-i* indicate an original root **sty* even though the other languages have different roots: Č. *šäta-m*, E. *šätta-m*, M. *səwätta-m*, with final *-a*, seem to go back to a root with an original last radical laryngeal; Amh. has *šättätä*);

rōga "steal" ending in a final prepalatal most probably belongs to the type *mōtä* (§ 46) because of the etymological connection with G. ℛℒ *rodä* "invade, make an incursion", but see p. 62.

With the morpheme *a-*: *aqōša* "knead" (from Cushitic: Galla *qoša* "coarse dough", Qabenna *qussi-yo'* "knead").

All the South Ethiopic languages have the class *bäka*, *säča*, for the verbs with an original last radical *w* or *y*. The 2nd consonant is simple in Harari as is the case in Selti, Wolane, and Zway except for the final vowel *-e* in Selti, Wolane (*mäše*), and *-i* in Zway (*bäči*). In the other languages the 2nd consonant is geminated. For more details, see *Gafat*, p. 121.

(*j*) The conjugation is as follows:

Basic stem

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D
Perfect	*bäka*	*mēča*	*māša*	*qōča*
Simple imperfect	*yibäk(i)*	*yimīč̣(i)*	*yimāš(i)*	*yŭqūč̣(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yibäkäl* [1]	*yimīčäl*	*yimāšäl*	*yŭqūčäl*
Jussive	*yäbki*	*yämēč̣*	*yämāš*	*yäqōč̣*
Imperative	*bik*	*mēč̣*	*māš*	*qōč̣*
Infinitive	*mäbka*	*mämēča*	*mämāša*	*mäqōča*
Passive participle	*guñ*	*ḥuč̣*	*fuč̣*	*quč̣*

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[1] The imperfect of *säča* "drink" is given by Cerulli, p. 115, as *isay-s-äl* "while he drinks", for *isač-s-äl*; the imperfect of *kaša* "desire" is given as *yikay-ẓäl* "he who desires", for *vikaš-ẓäl* (p. 116).

The syllabic structure of the imperfect *yi-bäk* and of the imperative *bik* is the same in all the South Ethiopic languages.

The verb *säṭa* is conjugated as follows: perfect *säṭa*, imperfect *yisṭāl*, jussive *yästi*, imperative *siṭ*, infinitive *mästa* [1].

The conjugation of the verbs with initial *ḥ* is as follows: perfect *ḥawa*, imperf. *yaḥawāl*, juss. *yaḥwi*, imper. *ḥiw*, inf. *maḥwa*. For the vowel *a* of the prefix in the imperfect and jussive, see § 41e.

(*k*) Stem with *tä-*

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D
Perfect	*tägäňa, taḥaǧa*	*tämēča*	*täfāča*	*täqōča*
Imperfect	*yitgäňāl, yithaǧāl*	*yitmēčāl*	*yitfāčāl*	*yitqōčāl*
Jussive	*yätgäň, yäthaǧ*	*yätmēč*	*yätfāč*	*yätqōč*
Imperative	*tägäň, tähaǧ*	*tämēč*	*täfāč*	*täqōč*

(*l*) Stem with *a-*

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D
Perfect	*aṭäfa*	*aqēča*	*amāǧa*	*aqōša*
Imperfect	*yaṭafāl*	*yäqīčāl*	*yämāǧāl*	*yäqūšāl*
Jussive	*yätfi*	*yäqēč*	*yämāǧ*	*yäqōš*
Imperative	*aṭfi*	*aqēč*	*amāǧ*	*aqōš*
Infinitive	*mätfa*	*mäqēča*	*mämāǧa*	*mäqōša*

(*m*) Stem with *at-*

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D
Perfect	*atqēra*	*athēǧa*	*atlāya, atlēya*	*atqōča*
Imperfect	*yätqīrāl*	*yäthīǧāl*	*yätlāyāl*	*yätqūčāl*
Jussive	*yätqēr*	*yäthēǧ*	*yätlāy*	*yätqōč*
Imperative	*atqēr*	*athēǧ*	*atlāy*	*atqōč*
Infinitive	*mätqēr*	*mäthēǧa*	*mätlāya*	*mätqōča*

(*n*) Frequentative

	Basic stem			*a-* stem
	Type A	Type C	Type D	Type A
Perfect	*firāra*	*liyāya*	*sučāča*	*afrāra*
Imperfect	*yifrārāl*		"sniff"	*yafrārāl*
Jussive	*yäfrār*			*yafrār*
Imperative	*firār*			*afrār*
Infinitive	*mäfrāra*			

Reciprocal

Perfect: *täsäṭa* or *tästäṭa* "give one another"; *tähaǧu* or *tähǧäǧu* "they hit one another".

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[1] For the complete conjugation of all the tenses, see Cerulli, pp. 110, 111.

Causative of reciprocal
Perfect: *atsāṭa* or *atsiṭāṭa*; *atḫāǧa* or *atḫiǧāǧa*.

§ 45. Class *ḵāna*

(*a*) This class contains biliteral verbs with the vowel *ā* after the 1st radical. It is to be distinguished from the type *fāča*, that is, type C of the class *bäka* (§ 44g), and from *lāka*, that is, the variant form of *laʾaka* (§ 39c).

The Harari verbs having the form *ḵāna* are placed here together for the sake of convenience even though their conjugation and their common origin are not the same.

The verbs of this class belong to one type only.

(*b*) The verbs are: *ḵāna* "be, become", *nāra* "become", *ḫāra* "go", *bāya* "say"; with vocalic initials: *āša* "do, make", *āña* "do", *āqa* "know". Many of these verbs have the form **konä* in the other Ethiopic languages, a form that exists also in Harari (§ 46).

(*c*) The conjugation of *ḵāna* is as follows: [1]

Perfect	*ḵāna*
Simple imperfect	*yŭḵūn(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yŭḵūnāl*
Jussive	*yäḵni*
Imperative	*ḵūn*
Infinitive	*mäḵna, mäḵona*

The only language that has a vowel *a* after the 1st radical in this verb is Zway; its form is *hanä*. In the other languages the form is *känä* or *konä*: Go. *kʷänä-m*, Č. E. Gt. *ḵārä(m)*, En. *ḵärã*, Ms. Ed. *hänä*, G. Tna. *konä*, Te. in *ʾi-kon* (negation), Amh. S.W. *honä*, Arg. *hona*, A. *konä(m)*, *honä(m)*.

(*d*) The conjugation of *nāra* "become" is as follows: [2]

Perfect	*nāra*
Imperfect	*yinäbrāl*
Jussive	*yänbär*
Infinitive	*mänbär*

This verb is used in Amh. *norä*; Č. E. Gt. *närä*, S. *nar(ä)*, Z. *naro*. It is to be derived from the root *nbr* > **nwr* > *norä*. The root *nbr* is used in nearly all the Ethiopic languages and is preserved in the Harari forms other than the perfect.

(*e*) The verb *ḫāra* "go" is conjugated as follows:

Perfect	*ḫāra*
Imperfect	*yŭḫūrāl*
Jussive	*yaḫri*
Imperative	*ḫūr*
Infinitive	*maḫra, mäḫora*

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[1] For the complete conjugation, see Cerulli, p. 108.
[2] For the complete conjugation in the perfect and imperfect, see Cerulli, p. 129.

The root is represented in G. (perf. ኮረ *ḫorä*, imperf. *yəḫäwwər*, juss. *yəḫor* and *yəḫur*, imper. *ḫor* and *ḫur*), Tna. *ḫorä*, Gaf. *(a)horä*, Č. E. M. *wärä(m)*, En. *wärä*, Gt. *ōrä*.

(*f*) The conjugation of *bāya* "say" is as follows:

		Singular		Plural
Perfect	3rd masc.	*bāya*	⎫	
	3rd fem.	*bāti*	⎬	*bāyu*
	2nd masc.	*bāki*	⎫	
	2nd fem.	*bāši*	⎬	*bāku*
	1st com.	*bāku*		*bāna*

The *b* is eliminated when *bāya* is preceded by the negative *al* or by the relative element *ẕi*; thus, *alāyam* "he did not say", *ẕāya* "he who said".

Imperfect	Sg. 3rd masc. *yilāl* (for *yəbəlāl*), 3rd fem. *tilāt*, and so on
Jussive	*yäl* (for *yäbäl*)
Imperative	*bäl*
Infinitive	*bāyti* or *mala*

For the usage of *bāya* in the compound descriptive verbs, see § 51.

The root of *bāya* is *bhl*: G. ብህለ *bəhəlä*, Tna. *bälä*, Te. *bela*, Amh. *alä*, Arg. *ala*, Č. E. En. Gt. Ed. Ms. *barä(m)*, M. *beä(m)*, Go. *bea(m)*, A. S.W.Z. *balä(m)*.

(*g*) The verb *āša* "do, make" [1] is conjugated as follows:

	Basic stem	*at-* stem
Perfect	*āša*, fem. *āšti*	*attēša*
Simple imperfect	*yāš*	*yattīši*
Compound imperfect	*yāšāl*	*yattīšāl*
Jussive	*yūš*	*yättēš*
Imperative	*ūš*	*attēš*
Infinitive	*mōša*	*mättēša*

For the usage of *āša* in the compound descriptive verbs, see § 51.

The form *attāša* serves for the expression of reciprocity in the compound verbs (see § 51d).

Cerulli [2] gives this verb in the form *aša* (not *āša*). For the *ū* of the imperative *ūš* (Cerulli *uš*) he refers to the *u* of *araʾa* "show" (*urañ* "show me"), but there seems to be no connection between these verbal forms as far as the vowel *ū* is concerned. The vowel *ū* could perhaps indicate a semivowel *w* in the root (see most of the verbs of the class *kāna*).

The root also occurs in S. *aše*. Cerulli [3] rightly suggests a Sidamo origin: Kambatta *asseʾ*, Sidamo *assi*. There could, however, be a relationship between the Ethiopic-Cushitic verb and the Semitic (Hebrew *ʿaśa*) as suggested by Littmann and taken up by Leslau, p. 554.

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[1] This verb has no gemination, as opposed to Cohen, p. 308. Cohen, *ibid.*, cites the verb with an initial *a*, not *ā*.

[2] *Harar*, p. 128.

[3] *Harar*, p. 237.

To judge from the S. *aše* the last radical seems to be an original *y*, the root being * ?*sy* (? = ' or '). As for the long *ā* of Har. *āša* it could be an indication of a type C of ?*sy*. We saw, however, that the verbs of the class *agäda*, that is, verbs beginning with a vowel going back to ' or ' have no type C (§ 38a). On the other hand, the conjugation of *āša* reminds one of *āräda* coming from **awäräda* (§ 37h). Indeed, the imperfect *yāšāl* is like *yārdāl*, the jussive *yūš* is like *yūrd(i)*, and the infinitive *mōša* is like *mōräd*. It would then seem that *āša* comes from **awaša<awasaya*, of the root *wšy*. We would have to know more about Sidamo *asse'*, *assi* in order to determine the root of the verb, since Sidamo seems to be the origin of the Harari and Selti verbs *āša*, *aše*.

(*h*) A verb that has the appearance of *āša* "make" is *āňa* "make" (also S. *aňe*, W. *aňňe*), but I did not record the conjugation of this verb. As is the case of *āša*, the last radical of *āňa* seems to be an original *y* (see above).

(*i*) The conjugation of *āqa* "know" is as follows: [1]

	Basic stem	*tä-* stem	*at-* stem
Perfect	*āqa*	*ta'aqa*	*atēwaqa*
Simple imperfect	*yūq(i)*	*yit'aq(i)*	*yätīwqi*
Compound imperfect	*yūqāl*	*yit'aqāl, yitāwaqāl*	*yätīwqāl*
Jussive	*yūq*	*yät'aq*	*yätēwqi*
Imperative	*ūq*	*tä'aq, tätāwaq*	*atēwqi*
Infinitive	*mōqa*	*mätāwaq*	*mätēwaq*

For this verb I also recorded a factitive *attēwäqa* "inform someone through someone". Its forms are:

Perfect	*attēwäqa*
Imperfect	*yättīwqāl*
Jussive	*yättēwqi*
Imperative	*attēwqi*

Since this is the only recorded factitive form it would require supplementary information. For the geminated *t* in the morpheme *atte-*, cp. *attēča* (§ 37j).

The relative imperfect of the basic stem *yūqzāl*, lit. "he who knows" also has the meaning of the adjective "intelligent" (§ 17b).

The verb also occurs in G. **ዖቀ** *'oqä* and in Amh. *awwäqä*. Cerulli [2] derives this root from Cushitic: Qara *aḫ* "know", Somali *og* [3].

§ 46. Class *mōta*

(*a*) This class contains biliteral verbs with the vowel *ō* after the 1st radical. It coincides in form and conjugation with the form *qōča*, that is, type D of the class *bäka* (§ 44i). Occasionally some verbs of type D of the class *näsa'a* have this form (§ 40g); thus, *gōfa* "push", beside *gōfa'a*; *amōsa* "be unable", beside

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[1] Cerulli, p. 125, gives a complete conjugation of *āqa* and *atēwaqa* (Cerulli *atiewoqa*) in the perfect and imperfect.
[2] *Harar*, p. 234.
[3] For Sidamo I recorded *ägänni* "know" instead of *ag* given by Cerulli, p. 234.

amōsa'a. The etymology helps us in determining the right classification of the verbs.

This class has only one type.

(*b*) The verbs of this class are: *bō'a* "come", *mōḥa* "be melted", *mōqa* "be hot", *mōta* "die", *rōṭa* "run", *šōma* "appoint", *ṭōra* "carry". For *sōča*, ses p. 57.

The verb *rōǧa* "steal" probably also belongs to this class even though it ends in a prepalatal *ǧ*. The prepalatal quality of the last consonant would indicate a triliteral root with an original last radical *y* (*rdy), but the comparison with G. ሮደ *rodä* "invade, make an incursion" (see p. 57) seems to prove that *rōǧa* belongs to the class *mōta*. The prepalatal *ǧ* would then be a secondary formation.

With the morpheme *tä-*: *täkō'a* "be spilled".

With the morpheme *a-*: *arō'a* "prepare the fresh gourd for its being used (either through rinsing with water or through cleaning with pebbles)", *asōra* "serve food", *azōla* and *azōra* "winnow".

The class *mōta* (*motä*) is used in all the Ethiopic languages.

(*c*) The conjugation is as follows:

	Basic stem	*tä-* stem
Perfect	*ṭōra*	*täšōma*
Simple imperfect	*yuṭūr(i)*	*yiššōm(i), yiṭṭōr(i),* and *yiṭṭäwär(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yuṭūrāl*	*yiššōmāl, yiṭṭäwärāl*
Jussive	*yäṭōr*	*yäššōm*
Imperative	*ṭōr*	*täšōm*
Infinitive	*mäṭōra* [1]	*mäššōm*

	a- stem	*at-* stem
Perfect	*amōta*	*atmōta, aṭṭōra, aṭṭēwära*
Simple imperfect	*yämūt(i)*	*yätmūt(i), yäṭṭīwri*
Compound imperfect	*yämūtāl*	*yätmūtāl, yäṭṭīwrāl*
Jussive	*yämōt*	*yätmōt, yäṭṭēwri*
Imperative	*amōt*	*atmōt, aṭṭēwri*
Infinitive	*mämōta*	*mätmōta, mäṭṭēwär*

In the basic stem, Harari seems to be the only Ethiopic language that has the imperfect *yuṭūrāl* (with the vowel *ū* after the 1st radical), and the jussive *yäṭōr* (with the vowel *ō* after the 1st radical). Geez occasionally uses the vowel *o* with the jussive, as in *yəḥor* "may he go" beside *yəḥur, yəsor* "may he carry" beside *yəsur.* The imperfect is *yəsawwer.* [2]

Muher has the jussive *yäṭum* (with *u*) from *ṭomä* "fast", but *yärot* (with *o*) from *äroäṭä-m* "run"; the imperfect is *yəṭomu, yərotu* (with *o*).

Zway has the imperfect *yəmuqāl* (with *u*, like Harari) from *muqä*, but the jussive is *yämuqu* (also with *u*).

(*d*) Frequentative

	Basic stem	*tä-* stem	*at-* stem
Perfect	*ruṭāṭa*	*täqčāča*	*atqučāča*

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[1] For the infinitive Cerulli, p. 107, gives also the form *mamot* beside *marōṭa.*
[2] A. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, p. 182.

Imperfect	*yurṭāṭāl*	*yitqŭčāčāl*	*yätquč̣āčāl*
Jussive	*yärṭāṭ*	*yätquč̣āč̣*	*yätquč̣āč̣*
Imperative	*ruṭāṭ*	*tāqč̣āč̣*	*atquč̣āč̣*
Infinitive	*märṭāṭa*		*mätquč̣āč̣a*

Reciprocal

Perfect: *tārāǧu* "they stole one another" or *tärǧāǧu*.

Causative of reciprocal

Perfect: *atrāǧa* or *atriǧāǧa* or *atrŭǧāǧa*.

§ 47. Class *lēṭa*

(*a*) This class contains biliteral verbs with the vowel *ē* after the 1st radical: *lēṭa*. It coincides in form and conjugation with the form *kēba*, that is, the variant form of the class *la'aka* (§ 39b); [1] with the form *ḥēma*, that is, the variant form of type B of the class *näsa'a* (§ 40g); and with *mēč̣a*, that is, type B of the class *bäka* (§ 44f). [2] The existence and the form of the same verb in the other Ethiopic languages help us in the correct classification of the verbs. Concerning the verbs for which no etymology could be established, I applied the principle used for the form *mēč̣a*, namely, the quality of the last consonant (§ 44b). Thus, a verb with a prepalatal as last consonant was classified as belonging to *mēč̣a*, that is, a class with an original last radical *y*, whereas a verb with a nonprepalatal last consonant was classified as belonging to the class *lēṭa*, unless the etymology warranted a different classification. This is true of *ḵēǧa* "trample" with a prepalatal as last consonant. Without considering its etymology one would be inclined to consider it as the type *mēč̣a*, but since the verb is undoubtedly to be connected with G. ከደ *kedä* "stamp" (Amh. *hedä* "go"), it belongs to the class *lēṭa*. The prepalatal *ǧ* still requires an explanation.

This class has only one type.

(*b*) On the basis of these considerations, the following verbs can be included in the class *leṭa*:

č̣ēqa "smell bad" (S.W. *č̣eqä*; a verb with an original last radical *y* of type B would have the form *č̣eqe* in S.W.);

gēsa "implore" (without Semitic etymology; from Galla *gesa* "recitation");

ḥēka "chew" (G. ሐከ *ḥekä*);

ḵēǧa "trample" (G. ከደ *kedä* "stamp", Amh. *hedä* "go");

ṭēsa "remain forever" (probably from Galla *tesi-su* "make remain, place");

ñēa "sleep" (see below).

With the morpheme *a-*:

ač̣ēḥa "spread cloth" (G. ጸሐ *ṣeḥa*);

arēqa "allure, distract from something";

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[1] Some verbs are: *ṭēma* "taste good" beside *ṭa'ama*; *ṭēna* "load", *ṭa'ana*, and *ṭāna*; *kēba* "testify" beside *ka'aba* and *kāba*.

[2] In Cohen, p. 306, these various verbal classes are not separated.

asēma "sell" (South Arg. *assame* "he sold it"; probably from Cushitic: Wolamo, Zala *šam*). [1]

(*c*) A verb requiring special consideration is *lēqa* "grow". Since it goes back to G. ለሀቀ *ləhəqä* "grow" one would expect the form *lähaqa*, the Ethiopic *h* becoming *ḥ* in Harari. Another Harari verb that seems to go back to a Geez form with *h* is *fäḥaqa* "tan", G. ፈሀቀ *fähaqä*. However, G. *fähaqä* is most likely an orthographic variant of *fäḥaqä*, with *ḥ*. Consequently, the Harari verb *lēqa* is actually the only verb that goes back to a Geez verb with *h*, namely *ləh(ə)qä*. It is also the only verb originating from a verb with *h* (*ḥ* or *ḫ*) that has the form *lēṭa*. Various explanations of the form *lēqa* are possible. The Harari verb is perhaps a reminiscence of the "deponent" type of the verbs with the 2nd radical *h*, [2] even though we saw (§ 42) that the "deponent" verbs of this class with an original 2nd radical *ḥ* or *ḫ* had no special formation, all of them having the form *lähasa*.

Another explanation could be considered. We know that Geez forms the noun *liq* "chief" from the root *lhq*, with the loss of *h*. It is possible that Harari formed the verb *lēqa* on the basis of the noun *liq*, that has no *h*. [3] Finally, it is possible that *lēqa* is formed by analogy with the class *lēṭa* without any apparent reason. [4]

(*d*) A verb with a vocalic initial is *ēda* "tell" (see below).

(*e*) An element that has the fo^rm of *lēṭa*, but is used only in the perfect is *bēla* "where is he?" (see below).

(*f*) The verbal class *lēṭa* has only type A. The conjugation is as follows:

	Basic stem	*tä*- stem	*a*- stem	*at*- stem
Perfect	*lēṭa*	*täkēǧa*	*asēma*	*athēka*
Simple imperfect	*yilīṭ(i)* [5]	*yitkēǧi*	*yäsīm(i)*	*yäthīk(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yilīṭāl*	*yitkēǧāl*	*yäsīmāl*	*yäthīkāl*
Jussive	*yälēṭ*	*yätkēǧ*	*yäsēm*	*yäthēk*
Imperative	*lēṭ*	*täkēǧ*	*asēm*	*athēk*
Infinitive	*mälēṭa*		*mäsēma*	*mäthēka*
Passive participle	*kuǧ*			

The class *lēṭa* (*leṭä*) occurs in nearly all the Ethiopic languages. However, Harari is the only language in which the imperfect of the basic stem is *yilīṭ* (with *ī/i* after the 1st radical), and the jussive is *yälēṭ* (with *ē/e* after the 1st radical). The other South Ethiopic languages regularly have the form *yəšem* for the imperfect and *yəšim* for the jussive.

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[1] Cerulli, p. 271.
[2] Cohen, p. 289. The statement of Cohen, *ibid.*, gives the impression as if *lēqa* were a representative of a regular verbal class, whereas we saw that *lēqa* is the only verb of this class, that is, a "deponent" type of verbs with an original 2nd radical *h*.
[3] So also Cohen, p. 306, following Littmann.
[4] This explanation was also suggested by Leslau, p. 440.
[5] Cerulli, p. 109, gives the form **yilit*, with *i* (not with *ī*).

(*g*) The verb *ēda* "tell" is conjugated as follows:

		Singular		Plural
Perfect	3rd masc.	*ēda*	⎫	*ēdu*
	3rd fem.	*ētti*	⎬	
	2nd masc.	*ētḵi*	⎬	*ētḵu*
	2nd fem.	*ēšši*	⎭	
	1st com.	*ētḵu*		*ēdna*

Note the assimilation of the voiced *d* to *t* because of the following voiceless *ḵ* and the total assimilation of *d* to *t* in *ētti*, and to *š* in *ēšši*.

Imperfect,	sg.	3rd masc.	*yīdāl*
		3rd fem.	*tīdāt*, etc.
Jussive,	sg.	3rd masc.	*yēd*
		3rd fem.	*tēd*
		2nd masc.	*atēd* (negative)
		2nd fem.	*atēği* (negative)
		1st com.	*nēd*
Imperative,	sg.	2nd masc.	*ēd*
		2nd fem.	*ēği*
	pl.	2nd com.	*ēdu*
Infinitive,			*mēda*

This verb occurs in the other South Ethiopic languages: Gaf. *äwᾰdä*, Č. Go. A. *odä-m*, En. *e'edä*, M. *ōdäm-m*, Ms. *ewwädä*, S. *ewädä*, Z. *idä*, Arg. *aweda*. For the conjugation of these verbs, see *Gafat*, pp. 137-138.

(*h*) The element *bēla* "where is he?" is conjugated only in the perfect:

	Singular		Plural
3rd masc.	*bēla*	⎫	*bēlu*
3rd fem.	*bēlti*	⎬	
2nd masc.	*bēlḵi*	⎬	*bēlḵu*
2nd fem.	*bēlši*	⎭	
1st com.	*bēlḵu*		*bēlna*

This element is probably a secondary formation, but I was unable to discover its origin. [1]

(*i*) For the verb "sleep" I recorded *ñēa*, but in view of its conjugation it should probably be *ñē'a*. The conjugation is:

	Basic stem	*a*- stem
Perfect	*ñēa*, fem. *ñē'ti* or *ñēti*	*añē'a*
	2nd masc. *ñē'ḵi* or *ñēḵi*	
Imperfect	*yiñī'āl*	*yäñī'āl*

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[1] For an attempt of an etymology, see E. Littmann, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 1, p. 48.

Jussive	*yäñä'*	*yäñä'*
Imperative	*ñä'*, fem. *ñä'i*	*añä'*
Infinitive	*mäñit* or *mañē'a*	*mañē'a*

This verb is also represented in the other Ethiopic languages: Amh. *täñña*, Č. *nəyä-m*, E. *nəyyä-m*, En. *ne'ä*, Gt. *ni'ä*, A. *əññä-m*, S. *əñe*, W. *iññe*, Z. *iñi*. Praetorius, p. 136, following Rödiger, rightly connects Amh. *täñña* with G. ነሀየ *nəhəyä* "take a rest".

§ 48. Verbs *dīğa, ri'a*

(*a*) The verb *dīğa* "come" is the only verb with the vowel *ī* after the 1st radical. It comes from Sidamo: Darasa *dagi*, Sidamo *dayí*, *da'í*. The reason for the vowel *ī* is not clear. One would have to know the exact form of the original language from which the Harari verb was borrowed. In the conjugation it is treated like the class *lēṭa*. The conjugation is:

	Basic stem	*a-* stem	*at*-stem
Perfect	*dīğa*	*adīğa*	*addēğa*
Simple imperfect	*yidīğ(i)*	*yädīğ(i)*	*yäddīğ(i)*
Compound imperfect	*yidīğāl*	*yädīğāl*	*yäddīğāl*
Jussive	*yädēğ*	*yädēğ*	*yäddēğ*
Imperative		*adēğ*	*addēğ*
Infinitive		*mädēğa*	*mäddēğa*

Frequentative: *dīğāğa*

(*b*) The complete forms of the perfect of the basic stem are:

		Singular		Plural
3rd masc.		*dīğa*	⎫	
3rd fem.		*dītti* [1]	⎬	*dīğu*
2nd masc.		*dīğki* [2]	⎫	
2nd fem.		*dīšši* [3]	⎬	*dīğku*
1st com.		*dīğku*		*dīğna*

Imperfect of the basic stem. For the 2nd pers. fem. Cerulli [4] gives the form *tidiyaš*, with prepalatalization of *ğ* into *y*.

The relative imperfect *yidīğzāl*, lit. "he who will come" means "next"; thus, *yidīğzāl ḵamīs* "next Thursday".

The imperfect of the *a-* stem as given by Cerulli [5] shows the prepalatalization of *ğ* into *y*. The forms are:

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[1] Cerulli, p. 112, has *dīšti, dīğti*.
[2] Cohen, p. 307, has **dičḥe-gər* "if you come", with unvoicing of *ğ*.
[3] Cerulli, p. 112, has *dīši*.
[4] *Harar*, p. 112.
[5] *Harar*, p. 112.

	Singular	Plural
3rd masc.	*yadiǧāl, yadiyāl*	*yadiǧālu, yadiyālu*
3rd fem.	*tadiǧāt, tadiyāt*	
2nd masc.	*tadiǧāḵ, tadiyāḵ*	*tadiǧāḵu, tadiyāḵu*
2nd fem.	*tadiyāš*	
1st com.	*adiǧāḵ, adiyāḵ*	*nadiǧāna, nadiyāna*

Imperative. The imperative of *dīǧa* is *nä'*, fem. *ne'*, pl. com. *nu'*.

Nearly all the Ethiopic languages have the radical *na* "come!" replacing the imperative of the regular verb "come".

(*c*) The verb *ri'a* "see" was recorded with the vowel *i*, not with the vowel *ī*. [1] The verb is represented in North Ethiopic (G. ርእየ *rə'əyä*, Tna. *rä'ayä, rä'e*, Te. *rä'a*), and in *əri* of the Gurage dialect of Zway, and *at-ere* "show" of Selti and Wolane. The vowel *i* of Harari *ri'a* reflects perhaps the "deponent" nature of the Geez *rə'əyä* > *rə'a* > *ri'a*.

The conjugation is as follows:

	Basic stem	*tä*- stem	*a*- stem	*at*- stem
Perfect	*ri'a*	*täri'a, ᵗär'a*	*ara'a*	*atrē'a*
Simple imperfect	*yir(i)*	*yitri'i*	*yār(i)*	
Compound imperfect	*yirāl*	*yitri'āl*	*yārāl*	
Jussive	*yär*	*yätra'*	*yūr*	
Imperative	*ri*	*tära'*	*ūr*	
Infinitive	*mära*	*mätra'a*	*mōra'*	

	Reciprocal	Causative of reciprocal
Perfect	*tärā'u*	*atrā'a*
Imperfect	*yitrā'ālu*	*yätrā'āl*
Jussive	*yätrā'u*	*yätrā'*
Imperative	*tärā'u*	

The complete conjugation of the perfect of the basic stem is as follows: [2]

	Singular	Plural
3rd masc.	*ri'a*	*ri'u*
3rd fem.	*ri'ti, ritti*	
2nd masc.	*ri'ḵi, rikki*	*ri'ḵu, rikku*
2nd fem.	*ri'ši, rišši*	
1st com.	*ri'ḵu, rikku*	*ri'na, rinna*

Note the assimilation of the glottal stop to the following consonant.

It is interesting to note that the causative *ara'a* is conjugated like *āša* (§ 45g)

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[1] Cerulli, p. 109, 126, gives the forms *ra'a, ira'a* for the perfect.
[2] In Cerulli, p. 126, the conjugation is different. For the imperfect of the causative, see Cerulli, p. 127.

and the class *ārāda* coming from *awārāda* (§ 37i); thus, imperf. *yārāl*: *yāšāl*: *yārdāl*; jussive *yūr*: *yūš*: *yūrdi*; imperative *ūr*: *ūš*: *ūrdi*; infinitive *mōra'*: *mōša*: *mōrād*. There is no semantic or morphological reason for the same type of conjugation, unless the initial vowel of the causative of *ri'a* is *ā* (that is, *āra'a*). In this instance, the initial vowel of *āra'a* would be the same as that of *āša*, *ārāda*, and the conjugation would follow the same pattern. [1]

QUADRILITERALS

§ 49. Regular quadriliterals

(*a*) The quadriliterals have the form *gilābāṭa*, [2] the characteristic vowel being *i* after the 1st radical. The quadriliterals have types A and C. The derived stems are the same as in the triliterals.

(*b*) Concerning the consonant structure, the quadriliterals have the following formations: 1.2.1.2., that is, a repeated biliteral root; 1.2.3.3., that is, a repeated 3rd radical; and 1.2.3.4., that is, four different radicals.

The verbs 1.2.1.2. are: *dilādāla* "level", *figāfāga* "rub", *filāfāla* "detach from the main bunch", *qiṭāqāṭa* "hammer, crush", *ṭināṭāna* "spin".

A verb of the type 1.2.3.3. is *qirādāda* "cut".

The verbs of 1.2.3.4. are: *dinābāṭa* "be frightened", *gilābāṭa* "invert, reverse, turn over", *kirātāfa* "cut into small pieces", *girāgāba* "return".

With the morpheme *a-*: *arbārāba* "water", *argāgāba* "answer, return, turn back" (see *girāgāba*, above), *atrātāra* "shake the grains to separate them", *aṭlāṭāla* "suspend".

The verb *atnāfāsa* "take a rest" is treated as a quadriliteral even though the root is *nfs*. [3]

(*c*) Type C of the quadriliterals is characterized by the vowel *ā* after the 2nd radical: *liqālāqa* "mix, confuse, interfere", *qimāṭāra* "chatter, talk nonsense".

With the morpheme *tā-*: *tāzlāḥaṭa* "slide".

With the morpheme *a-*: *aḥmālāla* "be ugly", *alqālāqa* "rinse, white wash" (the meaning is slightly different from *liqālāqa*, see above), *amrāṭāsa* "tear off".

The vowel of the 1st radical is *i* in Harari and in Wolane; the other Gurage languages have the vowel *ə*. The 3rd radical is simple in Harari and in Eastern Gurage: S.W.Z. *məsäkärä*; W. also *biräẓäẓä*. In Aymellel and in Western Gurage the 3rd radical is geminated: Č. *sərāpätä-m*, En. *sərāpätä*, [4] M. Go. A. *məsäkkärä-m*, Ms. *məsäkkärä*. For the other Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, p. 139.

[1]   Cohen, p. 305, makes the same observation concerning *ara'a* and *āša*.

[2]   Cohen, p. 296, gives the only example of *gərägāba*. Two other examples are taken from Mondon-Vidailhet. Cerulli, p. 113, cites *gärmama* "galop" that was not verified in my personal investigation, and *maramara* "investigate" (with the vowel *a* after the 1st radical) that is undoubtedly an Amharic form except for the non-gemination of the 3rd radical. The indications given in Leslau, p. 440, are to be rectified.

[3]   For *t-nfs*, *tnfs* treated as quadriliteral in Amharic, see M. Cohen, *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, p. 252.

[4]   Chaha and Ennemor have the 2nd radical simple (not geminated), but there are indications that the 2nd radical represents an ancient geminated consonant; see *Word*, 4 (1948), 44, 45.

(*d*) Type A.

The conjugation of type A is as follows:

	Basic stem	*tä-* stem	*a-* stem	*at-* stem
Perfect	*giläbäṭa*	*tägläbäṭa*	*argägäba*	*atgilēbäṭa*
Simple imperfect	*yigläbṭi*	*yitgiläbäṭ(i)*	*yargäbgi*	*yätgilībṭi*
Compound imperfect	*yigläbṭäl*	*yitgiläbäṭäl*	*yargäbgäl*	*yätgilībṭäl*
Jussive	*yägläbṭi*	*yätgiläbäṭ*	*yargäbgi*	*yätgilēbṭi*
Imperative	*giläbṭi*	*tägläbäṭ*	*argäbgi*	*atgilēbṭi*
Infinitive	*mägläbäṭ*		*margägäb*	*mätgilēbäṭ*
Passive participle	*gulbuṭ*			

With a prefixed consonant morpheme having a vowel, the perfect changes its syllabic structure by losing its *i* after the 1st radical. This is true of the relative element *ẕi-*, the form of the perfect being *ẕigläbäṭa* (instead of *ẕi-giläbäṭa*), and with the morpheme *tä-* of the reflexive-passive stem, the form being *tägläbäṭa*.

For the root *grgb* "return" note the metathesis in *rggb* in the perfect of the *a-* stem, and *rgbg* in the other tenses. [1]

The vocalic structure of the imperfect of the basic stem *yi-gläb(ə)ṭ* is the same as in Gurage except for the 3rd radical that is simple in Eastern Gurage (**yəgrägəb*), but geminated in Western Gurage and in Aymellel (**yəmsäkkər*). For the other languages, see *Gafat*, p. 139.

The Harari jussive (*-gläbəṭ*) has the same syllabic structure as Aymellel (*ye-msäkər*) and Zway (*yä-grägeb*), but the imperative of A. and Z. has the structure *mäskər* as against **giläbṭ* of Harari. For the other Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, p. 139.

In the *tä-* stem, the vocalic structure of the Harari imperfect *-g(i)läbäṭ* is the same as in Gurage **yət-m(ə)säkkär*. The 3rd radical is geminated in Aymellel and in Western Gurage; [2] it is simple in Eastern Gurage. As for the jussive, its vocalic structure *-giläbäṭ* is found in Č. S.W. and Zway.

The syllabic structure of the imperfect of the *a-*stem (*-gläbṭ*) is the same as in Gurage. The 3rd radical is geminated in Aymellel and in Western Gurage; it is simple in Eastern Gurage. The syllabic structure is the same as that of Č. En. A. and Zway.

(*e*) Type C.

Type C is formed with the vowel *ā* after the 2nd radical. For the verbs of type C, see above. The conjugation of type C is as follows:

	Basic stem	*tä-* stem	*a-* stem	*at-* stem
Perfect	*liqāläqa*	*tälqāläqa*	*alqāläqa*	*atliqāläqa*
Simple imperfect	*yilqālqi*	*yitliqāläq(i)*	*yälqālqi*	*yätliqālqi*
Compound imperfect	*yilqālqäl*	*yitliqāläqäl*	*yälqālqäl*	*yätliqālqäl*
Jussive	*yälqālqi*	*yätliqāläq*	*yälqālqi*	*yätliqālqi*
Imperative	*liqālqi*	*tälqāläq*	*alqālqi*	*atliqālqi*
Infinitive	*mälqāläq*		*mälqāläq*	*mätliqāläq*

The syllabic structure of the basic stem in the imperfect *-lqāl(ə)q*, and of the jussive *-lqāl(ə)q* is the same as in Gurage. The 3rd radical is geminated in Aymellel and in Western Gurage; it is simple in Eastern Gurage.

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[1] For the basic stem of this root, see Cohen, p. 296, and Cerulli, p. 113.

[2] For Č. and En., see p. 9, n. 3.

(*f*) Frequentative

The frequentative of the quadriliterals is formed by type C (that is, *gilābāṭa*), or by the repetition of the 3rd radical (that is, *gilbābāṭa*). The conjugation is as follows:

	Basic stem	*tä*- stem	*at*- stem
Perfect	*gilābāṭa, gilbābāṭa*	*täglābāṭa*	*atgilābāṭa, atgilbābāṭa*
Imperfect	*yiglābṭāl*		
Jussive	*yäglābṭi*		
Imperative	*gilābṭi*		
Infinitive	*mäglābāṭ*		

From type C: *qimṭāṭāra*; *at*- stem: *atqimṭāṭāra*.
Reciprocal
Type A: *täglābāṭu, täqrādādu*; type C: *tämrāṭāsu*.
Causative of reciprocal
Type A: *atgilābāṭa, atqirādāda*; type C: *atmirāṭāsa*.

§ 50. Abbreviated quadriliterals

(*a*) An abbreviated quadriliteral is perhaps the verb *abšēna* "spin two or three threads", that is, **bišēna* with the morpheme *a*. The form **bišēna* would be the quadriliteral counterpart of the class *lēṭa* (§ 47), that is, a biliteral verb with *ē*, in connection with an original semivowel *y*.

The conjugation of *abšēna* is as follows:

	a- stem	*tä*- stem	*at*- stem
Perfect	*abšēna*	*täbšēna*	*atbēšäna*
Imperfect	*yabšīnāl*	*yitbēšänāl*	*yatbīšnāl*
Jussive	*yabšēn*	*yätbēšän*	*yatbēšni*
Imperative	*abšēn*	*atbēšän*	*atbēšni*
Infinitive		*mätbēšän*	*matbēšän*

Note the metathesis of the vowel *ē* in the imperfect, jussive, imperative, and infinitive of the *tä*- stem and in the *at*- stem.

COMPOUND VERBS

§ 51. Form and usage

(*a*) Harari makes extensive use of an invariable element followed by *bāya* "say" (§ 45f), *āša* "make" (§ 45g), or *ḵāna* "be" (§ 45c). This usage is so frequent that the Amharas when imitating the Harari speakers add *bāya* or *āša* to every word.

(*b*) The elements *bāya*,[1] *āša*, or *ḵāna* are conjugated. The invariable element

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[1] I did not record any example in which *b* disappears, as suggested by Cohen, p. 305. His example of *ḥaf fāya* "be high" shows the assimilation of *b* to *f*.

consists of two, three, four, or five radicals. Occasionally, for more expressivity or for a specific shade of meaning, the whole root can be repeated. The invariable element can end in a vowel or in a consonant. The etymology of the invariable elements is not always easy to establish. Most often they go back to a verbal root. Indeed, the invariable element often exists beside a verbal form either in Harari itself or in another Ethiopic language. Others go back to an onomatopoetic radical. Finally, the invariable element is very often a noun, an adjective, or an adverb.

(*c*) The invariable element followed by *bāya* is mostly intransitive. The transitive or causative action is expressed by *āša* for this type of verbs; thus, *ḥaf bāya* "wake up" (intransitive): *ḥaf āša* "wake up" (transitive); *žāg bāya* "lie down": *žāg āša* "spread".

(*d*) The invariable element followed by *āša* is transitive or intransitive. The causative action of this type is expressed by *attēša*, that is, the *at*-stem of *āša*. Thus, *qāṭāb āša* "remember": *qāṭāb attēša* "remind". The form *attēša* also serves for the expression of the factitive.

Reciprocity is expressed by *attāša* (or rather, *attāšu*): *maḥmaḥ attāšu* "they kissed one another".

(*e*) In the verbs composed of an invariable element and of *kāna* "be, become", the invariable element is mostly an adjective or a noun. These compound verbs express mainly the idea of becoming or being; thus *ḵāfīf kāna* "be light", *sōfī kāna* "become a monk".

For a possible influence of Cushitic, see *Word*, 1 (1945), 72. For the variable elements used in the various Ethiopic languages, see *Gafat*, pp. 145-146; see also *JAOS*, 65 (1945), 25-26.

(*f*) A nominal type derived from the invariable element is formed with the suffixed element -*ti*:[1] *kāfti* "sadness" (*kāf bāya* "be sad"); *sāmti* "silence" (*sām bāya* "be silent"); *awti* "the shout" (*awaw attāša* "chatter"); *qāṭābti* "remembrance" (*qāṭāb āša* "remember").

(*g*) Biliteral elements with *bāya*:
uf bāya "blow, screen", *buf bāya* "be swollen, sulk", *bug bāya* "ferment", *dug bāya* "sulk", *duq bāya* "arrive", *gub bāya* "cover all over", *gim bāya* "be disgusted", *ḥaf bāya* "be high, wake up", *ḥiq bāya* "have the hiccups", *ḥir bāya* "be fed up", *kāf bāya* "be sad, dissatisfied", *maḥ bāya* "kiss", *qāb bāya* "fall down", *sām bāya* "be quiet", *sas bāya* "stoop, bow", *tās bāya* "be pleased", *ṭoʾ bāya* "pop up", *žāg bāya* "lie down".

Biliteral elements with *āša*:
čāf āša "drink up", *ḥaf āša* "wake up" (transitive, from *ḥaf bāya*), *qāb āša* "make fall down" (see *qāb bāya*), *ṭāb āša* "prepare", *žāg āša* "spread" (from *žāg bāya*).

(*h*) Triliteral elements with *bāya*:
bāraḥa bāya "have pity (*bāraḥ āša* "arouse pity"), *čičič bāya* "twitter", *fādām bāya*

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[1] For Amh. -*ta*, see M. Cohen, *Traité de langue amharique*, p. 102; for Tigrinya, see Leslau, *Documents Tigrigna*, p. 24.

"forgive, be merciful", *käkaḥ bāya* "roar" (causative *käkaḥ āša*), *kulul bāya* "roll", *läkäm bāya* "be near, approach", *qälaḥ bāya* "spend some time, linger", *qimič bāya* "crouch down", *ṭäläb bāya* "be lukewarm", *wäläm bāya* "go aside".

Triliteral elements with *āša*:

qäṭäb āša "remember", *labän āša* "yawn", *fiṭṭiň āša* "scatter".

(*i*) Quadriliteral elements with *bāya*:

of the type 1.2.1.2., that is, the repeated biliteral: *čäfčäf bāya* "hop, skip" (*čäf bāya* "jump"), *čämčäm bāya* "chew", *däfdäf bāya* "rummage, search for", *firfir bāya* "shiver, tremble", *kuškuš bāya* "rustle" (causative, *kuškuš āša* "move"), *širšir bāya* "take a walk"; of the type 1.2.3.4.: *dəngəš bāya* "grow numb", *firgič bāya* "smile", *ḥanguš bāya* "take a good bite", *ḥankəl bāya* "be lame, limp"; of the type 1.2.3.3.: *šimqiq bāya* "shiver".

(*j*) Quadriliterals with *āša*:

biňbiň āša "scatter", *čämčäm āša* "make the sound of chewing", *dugdug āša* "knock", *ḥafḥaf āša* "arouse" (see *ḥaf āša*), *kaḥkaḥ āša* "knock", *ḵarḵar āša* "gurgle", *kuškuš āša* "move" (see *kuškuš bāya* "rustle").

(*k*) A quinquiliteral of the type 1.2.3.4.4. with *bāya*:

fəḥunquq bāya "crawl with the behind, creep".

(*l*) Repeated triliterals:

biriǧ biriǧ bāya "stagger", *gumuč gumuč bāya* "rinse the mouth with water to swallow the čat", *gurum gurum bāya* "grumble", *ḥiniq ḥiniq bāya* "sob".

(*m*) The invariable element with *ḵāna* can be a noun, an adjective, or an adverb.

Adjectives: *ta'ab ḵāna* "become weak" (*ta'ab* "weak"), *donqa ḵāna* "be deaf" (*donqa* "deaf"), *ǧinäm ḵāna* "be mad" (*ǧinäm* "mad"), *ḥubuṭ ḵāna* "be swollen" (*ḥubuṭ* "swollen"), *käfif ḵāna* "be light" (*käfif* "light"), *qäčin ḵāna* "be thin" (*qäčin* "thin"), *šibätäm ḵāna* "be gray" (*šibätäm* "gray").

Nouns: *ginge ḵāna* "stammer" (*ginge* "stammerer"), *was ḵāna* "guarantee" (*was* "guarantor"), *sōfi ḵāna* "become a monk" (*sōfi* "monk"), *šəfta ḵāna* "rebel" (*šəfta* "rebel", noun), *šarik ḵāna* "participate" (*šarik* "partner").

Adverbs: *mässa mässa ḵāna* "be accurate, equal", *mässa āša* "flatten" (*mässa* "equally").

(*n*) As was said above, the invariable element with *bāya* or *āša* can be a noun, an adjective, an adverb, or a verb.

With *bāya*: *amān bāya* "take leave" (*amān* "peace, health, well"), *inne bāya* "refuse" (*inne* "no!"), *əššēt bāya* "be slow" (*əššēt* "slowly"), *gulub bāya* "cover the head" (*gulub* "cover"), *ḵāna bāya* "agree" (*ḵāna* "it was"), *ziq bāya* "be strong" (*ziq* "strong").

With *āša*: *absum āša* "circumcise" (*absúm* "circumcision"), *būfa āša* "fan the fire" (*būfa* "bellows"), *birzi āša* "dilute honey in water" (*birzi* "honeyed water"),

čəkāl āša "place the peg" (*čəkāl* "peg"), *fäqär āša* "sing" (*fäqär* "song"), *goḥoy āša* "brew" (*goḥoy* "beer"), *ḥabäri āša* "bloom" (*ḥabäri* "blossom"), *ḥalläs āša* "be smooth" (*ḥalläs* "smooth"), *ḥēlät āša* "be lazy" (*ḥēlät* "laziness"), *ḥirgi āša* "take counsel" (*ḥirgi* "counsel"), *ḥargäb āša* "cough" (*ḥargäb* "cough", noun), *ḥāsāwa āša* "chat" (*ḥāsāwa* "chat", noun), *ḥuṭúr āša* "make a fence" (*ḥuṭur* "fence"), *kuša āša* "affiance" (*kuša* "engaged"), *mīda āša* "comb" (*mīda* "comb," noun), *mäla āša* "look for ways and means" (*mäla* "occasion"), *nigdi āša* "trade" (*nigdi* "trade", noun), *quy āša* "get angry" (*quy* "anger"), *sinān āša* "quarrel" (*sinān* "voice"), *wåsän āša* "delimit" (*wåsän* "limit"), *qär tənfāš āša* "pant", lit. "make an incomplete breath".

(*o*) The noun can also be a loanword. In the recorded examples only *āša* is used. The nouns listed below are of Arabic origin, but they can also come from any other language. The examples are: *ibāda āša* "pray" (*ibāda* "prayer", Ar. *ʿibāda*), *awfi āša* "forgive" (*awfi* "forgiveness", Ar. *ʿawf*), *aza āša* "annoy" (*aza* "annoyance", Ar. *ʾadāⁿ* "damage"), *azli āša* "depose" (*azli* "deposition", Ar. *ʿazl*), *baḥsi āša* "investigate" (*baḥsi* "investigation", Ar. *baḥṯ*), *diddi āša* "make the opposite" (*diddi* "opposite", Ar. *ḍidd*), *dällal āša* "practice small trade" (*dällal* "market-crier", Ar. *dallāl*), *därär āša* "harm" (*därär* "harm", Ar. *ḍarr*), *fakri āša* "boast" (*fakri* "boasting", Ar. *faḫr*), *fayda āša* "profit" (*fayda* "profit", Ar. *fāʾida*), *ğäbri āša* "comfort" (*ğäbri* "comfort", Ar. *ğabr*), *ğäwāb āša* "answer" (*ğäwāb* "answer", Ar. *ğawāb*), *ḥamdi āša* "thank" (*ḥamdi* "thanks", Ar. *ḥamd*), *ḥuzni āša* "be sad" (*ḥuzni* "sadness", Ar. *ḥuzn*), *kira āša* "hire" (*kira* "hiring", Ar. *kirāʾ*), *naḥbi āša* "pillage" (*naḥbi* "booty", Ar. *naḥb*), *qälbi āša* "pay attention", (*qälbi* "heart", Ar. *qalb*), *qima āša* "evaluate" (*qima* "cost", Ar. *qīma*), *säbäb āša* "pretend" (*säbäb* "pretext", Ar. *sabab*), *säbri āša* "be patient" (*säbri* "patience", Ar. *ṣabr*), *šäkki āša* "doubt" (*šäkki* "doubt", Ar. *šakk*), *ziyāra āša* "pay a visit" (*ziyāra* "visit", Ar. *ziyāra*), *imtiḥān āša* "try" (*imtiḥān* "trying", Ar. *ʾimtiḥān*, verbal noun of the 8th form of *mḥn*).

(*p*) Quite often the invariable element exists beside a regular verbal form, the verbal form being used either in Harari itself or in the other Ethiopic languages. Here again the invariable elements are biliterals, triliterals, and quadriliterals.

Biliterals: *fič̣ āša* "whistle", *fič̣fič̣ āša* "whistle" (Har. *afēč̣a* "whistle"), *fäs āša* "break wind" (Amh. *fässa*), *nəč̣ bāya* "chew off" (Amh. *näč̣č̣ä*), *šir bāya* "go around" (Amh. *tänšäräššärä*), *tuf bāya* "spit" (Amh. *täffa*).

Triliterals: *binin āša* "sprinkle" (Har. *bänäna* "be sprinkled"), *biriq bāya* "scintillate" (Amh. *bärräqä*), *fäṭan bāya* "be fast" (Amh. *fäṭṭänä*), *ḥuluf bāya* "pass", *gänna ḥuluf bāya* "spend the rainy season" (Amh. *alläfä*, G. ኀለፈ *ḥaläfä*), *ḥaräm āša* "weed" (Amh. *arrämä*).

Quadriliterals: *laḥlaḥ bāya* "be loose" (Tna. *laḥləḥe*), *niqniq bāya* "move" (Amh. *näqännäqä*), *qiṭqiṭ bāya* "tremble" (Amh. *qäṭäqqäṭä*), *širšir bāya* "take a walk" (see biliterals, above), *zilḥič̣ bāya* "slide, slip" (Har. *täzlāḥaṭa*).

APPENDIX

VERBAL SUFFIXED PRONOUNS

§ 52. Meaning and general principles

(*a*) The verbal suffixed pronouns express the direct complement, occasionally also the indirect complement: *gädäle* "he killed him". The investigation of the verbal suffixed pronouns is, therefore, essential for the analysis of the verb. The importance of the study of the verbal suffixed pronouns lies also in the fact that the original verbal forms often appear when the suffixed pronouns are added to them [1]. One example of the Harari verbal forms will illustrate the point. We know that in certain forms of the perfect and imperfect a euphonic -*i* appears serving to disjoin the final consonant cluster. Thus, *gädält-i* "she killed", *gädälḵ-i* "you (masc.) killed", *yigädl-i* "he kills", and others. The euphonic -*i* disappears, however, when the suffixed pronouns are added to these verbal forms, because the final vowel is not original. As a result of it, these verbal forms end in the original consonant (**gädält, gädälḵ*), and the suffixed pronouns are added to these forms with the intermediary of the vowel *ä* (see below).

(*b*) The general principles concerning the adjunction of the suffixed pronouns are as follows.

Certain suffixed pronouns have a consonant initial. As a rule, they are added directly to the verbal forms that end in a vowel (ex. *gädälu-ḵ* "they killed you"). In the verbal forms that end in a consonant an intermediary vowel *ä* appears to which the consonantal suffixed pronoun is added (ex. *yägdäl-ä-ḵ* "may he kill you").

The euphonic -*i* appearing in certain verbal forms is not considered a vowel. This euphonic -*i* disappears when the verbal form is used with suffixed pronouns (ex. *yigädl-i* "he kills" takes the original form *yigädl*). Consequently, these verbal forms have a consonant ending, and, as a result of it, the suffixed pronouns are joined to these forms with the intermediary of the vowel *ä* (ex. *yigädl-ä-ḵ-le* "that he kills you").

As for the vowel -*a* of certain verbal forms, it changes in most instances into -*e* when the suffixed pronouns are added to the verbal forms.

(*c*) A summary of the endings of the verbal forms is given below.

The verbal forms ending in -*a* are: perfect, sg. 3rd masc. *gädäla* "he killed"; pl. 1st. com. *gädälna* "we killed".

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[1] See W. Leslau, "Essai de reconstitution des désinences verbales du tigrigna", *Revue des études sémitiques* (1939), pp. 70-99.

Verbal forms ending in a euphonic *-i* are: perfect, sg. 3rd fem. *gädält-i* "she killed"; 2nd masc. *gädälḵ-i* "you killed"; imperfect, sg. 3rd masc. *yigädli* "he kills"; 3rd fem. *tigädli* "she kills"; 2nd masc. *tigädli* "you kill"; 1st com. *igädli* "I kill"; pl. 1st com. *nigädli* "we kill".

Verbal forms ending in a vowel other than *-a* and euphonic *-i* are: perfect, sg. 2nd fem. *gädälši* "you killed"; 1st com. *gädälḵu* "I killed"; pl. 3rd com. *gädälu* "they killed"; 2nd com. *gädälḵu* "you killed"; imperfect, sg. 2nd fem. *tigädyi* "you kill"; pl. 3rd com. *yigädlu* "they kill"; 2nd com. *tigädlu* "you kill"; jussive, pl. 3rd com. *yägdälu* "may they kill"; imperative, sg. 2nd fem. *gədäyi* "kill"; pl. 3rd com. *gədälu* "kill".

Verbal forms ending in a consonant are: jussive, sg. 3rd masc. *yägdäl* "may he kill", 3rd fem. *tägdäl* "may she kill"; 1st com. *nägdäl* "may I kill"; pl. 1st com. *nägdäl* "may we kill"; imperative, sg. 2nd masc. *gədäl* "kill".

§ 53. The forms of the suffixed pronouns

(*a*) The forms are:

SINGULAR

3rd masc. *-a*, *-o*, *-u* (*-ʷu*)
    fem. *-e*
2nd masc. *-ḵ*, *-äḵ*
    fem. *-š*, *-äš*
1st com. *-ň*, *-äň*

PLURAL

3rd com. *-yu*, *-äyu*
2nd com. *-ḵu*, *-äḵu*
1st com. *-na*, *-äna*

(*b*) The suffixed pronouns with consonant initial are used with verbal forms ending in a vowel. As for the vowel *-a* of the verbal form, it changes into *-e* when the suffixed pronouns are added to the verbal form.

(*c*) The suffixed pronouns with vocalic initial (except those of the sg. 3rd masc. fem.) are used with verbal forms ending in a consonant.

(*d*) The suffixed pronoun *-a* of the 3rd masc. is used with verbal forms ending in a consonant and in original *-i*, that is, a noneuphonic *-i*; the *-i* is omitted when the suffixed pronouns are added to the verbal form.

(*e*) The suffixed pronoun *-o* of the 3rd masc. is used with the verbal forms ending in *-u*. The final *-u* does not appear, the suffixed pronoun *-o* probably resulting from the contraction *u-a* > *o*.

(*f*) The suffixed pronoun *-u* (*-ʷu*)of the 3rd masc. appears with the verbal forms ending in *-a*; the vowel *-a* changes into *-e* when the suffixed pronouns are added to the verbal forms.

(*g*) The suffixed pronoun *-e* of the 3rd fem. is used with verbal forms ending in a consonant and in a vowel. The final vowel of the verb is lost when the suffixed pronoun *-e* is added to the verbal forms.

§ 54. The verbal forms with the suffixed pronouns

A detailed enumeration of the verbal forms of the perfect, simple imperfect, compound imperfect, jussive, and imperative with the suffixed pronouns will be given here.

PERFECT

	gädäla "he killed"	*gädälti* "she killed"	*gädälḵ* "you (m.) killed"	*gädälši* "you (f.) killed"	*gädälku* "I killed"	*gädälu* "they killed"	*gädälḵu* "you (pl.) killed"	*gädälna* "we killed"
Sg. 3rd masc.	*gädäle-u* "he killed him"	*gädält-a* "she killed him"	*gädälḵ-a*	*gädälš-a*	*gädälḵ-o*	*gädäl-o*	*gädälḵ-o*	*gädälne-ʷu*
3rd fem.	*gädäle*	*gädält-e*	*gädälḵ-e*	*gädälš-e*	*gädälḵ-e*	*gädäl-e*	*gädälḵ-e*	*gädälne*
2nd masc.	*gädäle-ḵ*	*gädält-äḵ*			*gädälku-ḵ*	*gädälu-ḵ*		*gädälne-ḵ*
2nd fem.	*gädäle-š*	*gädält-äš*			*gädälku-š*	*gädälu-š*		*gädälne-š*
1st com.	*gädäle-ň*	*gädält-äň*	*gädälḵä-ň*	*gädälši-ň*		*gädälu-ň*	*gädälḵu-ň*	
Pl. 3rd com.	*gädäle-yu*	*gädält-äyu*	*gädälḵä-yu*	*gädälši-yu*	*gädälku-yu*	*gädälu-yu*	*gädälḵu-yu*	*gädälne-yu*
2nd com.	*gädäle-ḵu*	*gädält-äḵu*			*gädälku-ḵu*	*gädälu-ḵu*		*gädälne-ḵu*
1st com.	*gädäle-na*	*gädält-äna*	*gädälḵä-na*	*gädälši-na*		*gädälu-na*	*gädälḵu-na*	

SIMPLE IMPERFECT

	yigädli "he kills"	*tigädyi* "you (fem.) kill"	*yigädlu* "they kill"
Sg. 3rd masc.	*yigädl-a* "he kills him"	*tigädy-a* "she kills him"	*yigädl-o*
3rd fem.	*yigädl-e*	*tigädy-e*	*yigädl-e*
2nd masc.	*yigädl-äḵ*		*yigädlu-ḵ*
2nd fem.	*yigädl-äš*		*yigädlu-š*
1st com.	*yigädl-äň*	*tigädyi-ň*	*yigädlu-ň*
Pl. 3rd com.	*yigädl-äyu*	*tigädyi-yu*	*yigädlu-yu*
2nd com.	*yigädl-äḵu*		*yigädlu-ḵu*
1st com.	*yigädl-äna*	*tigädyi-na*	*yigädlu-na*

The suffixed pronouns used with *yigädli* are the same as with *tigädli* "she kills› you (masc.) kill", *igädli* "I kill", *nigädli* "we kill".

The suffixed pronouns used with *yigädlu* are the same with *tigädlu* "you (pl.) kill".

COMPOUND IMPERFECT

In the compound imperfect the suffixed pronouns are placed between the simple imperfect and the auxiliary *-al*. Note that with the suffixed pronouns of the sing.

3rd masc. fem., and pl. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd com. the original initial element of
-*al* appears, and the form is *ḥal (§ 13b). Since the various modifications occurring
with the suffixed pronouns of the compound imperfect are less systematic than
those of the perfect and simple imperfect, the complete forms will be given
below without detailed analysis.

	yigädlāl "he kills"	*tigädlāt* "she kills"	*tigädlāk̲* "you (masc.) kill"	*tigädlāš* "you (fem.) kill"	*yigädlālu* "they kill"	*tigädlāk̲u* "you kill"	*nəgädlāna* "we kill"
·d masc.	*yigädl-a-ḥal* "he kills him"	*tigädl-a-ḥat*	*tigädl-a-ḥak̲*	*tigädl-a-ḥaš*	*yigädlu-ḥul*	*tigädl-o-ḥok̲u*	*nəgädl-a-ḥana*
·d fem.	*yigädl-ä-ḥäl*	*tigädl-ä-ḥ̣ät*	*tigädl-ä-ḥ̣äk̲*	*tigädl-ä-ḥ̣äš*	*yigädl-ä-ḥal*	*tigädl-ä-ḥ̣äk̲u*	*nəgädl-ä-ḥ̣äna*
nd masc.	*yigädl-äk̲-āl*	*tigädl-äk̲-āt*			*yigädlu-k̲-āl*		*nəgädl-äk̲-āna*
nd fem.	*yigädl-äš-āl*	*tigädl-äš-āt*			*yigädlu-š-āl*		*nəgädl-äš-āna*
st com.	*yigädl-äň-āl*	*tigädl-äň-āt*	*tigädl-äň-āk̲*	*tigädli-ň-āš*	*yigädlu-ň-āl*	*tigädlu-ň-āk̲u*	
rd com.	*yigädl-äyŭ-ḥul*	*tigädl-äyu-ḥut*	*tigädl-äyŭ-ḥuk̲*	*tigädli-yu-ḥuš*	*yigädlu-yu-ḥul*	*tigädlu-yu-ḥuk̲u*	*nəgädl-äyu-ḥun*
nd com.	*yigädl-äk̲ŏ-ḥul*	*tigädl-äk̲ŏ-ḥut*			*yigädlu-k̲ŏ-ḥul*		*nəgädl-ak̲ŏ-ḥun*
st com.	*yigädl-äna-ḥal*	*tigädl-äna-ḥat*	*tigädl-äna-ḥak̲*	*tigädli-na-ḥaš*	*yigädlu-na-ḥal*	*tigädlu-nāk̲u*	

Jussive and imperative

		yägdäl "may he kill"	*yägdälu* "may they kill"	*gədäyi* "kill" (fem.)
Sg.	3rd masc.	*yägdäl-a* "may he kill him"	*yägdäl-o* "may they kill him"	*gədäy-a* "kill him"
	3rd fem.	*yägdäl-e*	*yägdäl-e*	*gədäy-e*
	2nd masc.	*yägdäl-äk̲*	*yägdälu-k̲*	
	2nd fem.	*yägdäl-äš*	*yägdälu-š*	
	1st com.	*yägdäl-äň*	*yägdälu-ň*	*gədäyə-ň*
Pl.	3rd com.	*yägdäl-äyu*	*yägdälu-yu*	*gədäyə-yu*
	2nd com.	*yägdäl-äk̲u*	*yägdälu-k̲u*	
	1st com.	*yägdäl-äna*	*yägdälu-na*	*gədäyi-na*

The suffixed pronouns used with *yägdäl* are the same with *tägdäl* "may she kill",
nägdäl "may I kill, may we kill".

The suffixed pronouns used with *yägdälu* "may they kill" are the same with
gədälu "kill" (pl.).

INDEX

(The index includes all the verbs of this study. The numbers refer to pages.)